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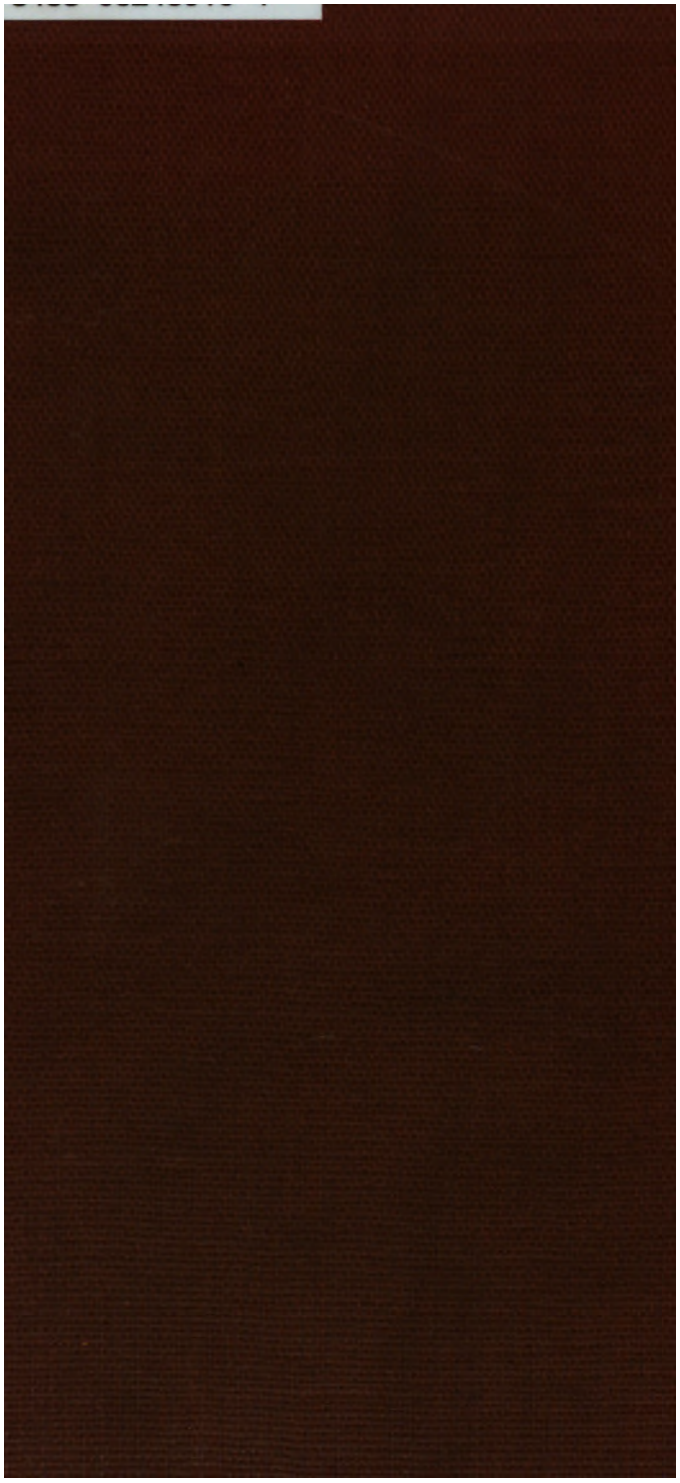

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F. Vincent Sculpt.

PLE OF INDRA.

Mountain P.

April, 1824.

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Ellora
L.C.

THE

WONDERS OF ELORA;

OR, THE

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY

TO THE

TEMPLES AND DWELLINGS

EXCAVATED OUT OF A MOUNTAIN OF GRANITE,

AND EXTENDING UPWARDS OF A MILE AND A QUARTER,

AT

Elora, in the East Indies,

BY THE

ROUTE OF POONA, AHMED-NUGGUR, AND TOKA, RETURNING BY DOWLUTABAD AND AURUNGABAD;

WITH SOME GENERAL

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY.

BY JOHN B. SEELY,

CAPTAIN IN THE BOMBAY NATIVE INFANTRY, AND FORMERLY MILITARY SECRETARY TO THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT; AUTHOR OF "A VOICE FROM INDIA, IN ANSWER TO THE REFORMERS OF ENGLAND."

Shall then this glory of the antique age,
The pride of men, be lost among mankind?

AKENSIDE.

SECOND EDITION,

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR GEO. B. WHITTAKER,

AVE-MARIA-LANE.

1825.

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TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, K.G.

PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN,

THIS WORK

IS,

AS A HUMBLE TRIBUTE OF RESPECT

FOR THE

ENLIGHTENED, LIBERAL, AND PRUDENT MEASURES

PURSUED IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS AND

DOMESTIC POLICY,

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

33, Charter-House-Square,
April 5th, 1825.

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PREFACE.

THE data from which the following sheets were written have been in my possession several years. Many circumstances occurred to prevent their publication during my residence in India; but having been compelled by very severe sickness to revisit my native land, I have looked over my notes, and I feel reassured that the subject of them is of sufficient interest to excite the attention of no inconsiderable portion of the public.

Innumerable works have been published on the antiquities of Greece, Rome, and Egypt; but, with the exception of two or three incidental notices by travellers, scanty and imperfect, the wonderful caverned Temples of Elora are known but to a very few

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persons. This arises partly from their being noticed in large expensive works, solely devoted to Oriental literature, unknown by name even to many readers, and out of the reach of the majority. I have therefore presumed that a distinct account of the celebrated Temples of Elora, interspersed with some notices of the country, will not be unacceptable: how I have accomplished my task is another consideration, which I cheerfully leave to the better judgment of others, only respectfully observing, that I lay no claims to erudition or literary talent.

I went to India very young; and an active life in that country is not very favourable to study or the cultivation of science. I consequently, with no slight degree of apprehension, commit myself to the public voice; trusting, however, that my being the means of imparting some knowledge of those magnificent dwellings and temples will in part compensate the reader for that absence of

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fine writing and highly-wrought descriptions found in many of our modern travellers, whose works exhibit literary beauties which can only result from a classical education and deep study.

I may err in my judgment; but it is my humble opinion, that no monuments of antiquity in the known world are comparable to the Caves of Elora, whether we consider their unknown origin, their stupendous size, the beauty of their architectural ornaments, or the vast number of statues and emblems, all hewn and fashioned out of the solid rock! In publishing this work, therefore, so far from imposing upon the public, I hope and trust that I am rendering a service to the antiquary, and contributing to the amusement and instruction of the general reader.

The task was first suggested to me by reading the following lines in the *Quarterly Review*: "Every nook in our island has now

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been completely ransacked and described by our tourists and topographers. If we call over the counties one by one, these historians will be seen marshalling their ranks in quarto and in folio. The humble antiquary ekes out his octavo with chronicles of shrieves and mayors, and transcripts of the wills of the founders of the green-coat school and the alms-houses; and every hamlet, raised by the opulence of the state into the rank of a watering-place, possesses some elegant Guide." I thought, on reading this excellent authority, if so much is written on that with which we are acquainted, my humble antiquarian, mythological, and topographical labours, if put into an *unpretending* form, would not be useless or unacceptable; more especially, being firmly persuaded, after due inquiry, that the wonders of Elora are positively unknown to seven-eighths of the public.

But how much more was I strengthened in my resolution on observing the following

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apposite passage in the *Edinburgh Review* (No. 50, p. 486), which, during my stay in a distant country-town, had been lent to me, *by mistake*, for another Number of the same work; "In lately perusing the MS. journal of one of the most accomplished visitants of India, we were struck with regret and surprise, that in Daniel's Prints, and Sir C. Malet's Mensurations, the public have no description of the *region of wonders* which lies within a few miles of the Godavery: the remains of Aurungzebe's magnificence at *Aurungabad*, the *unparalleled* fort of *Dowlutabad*, and the excavations of *Elora*, which DISPUTE with the PYRAMIDS the first place among those works which are undertaken to display power and to embody feeling, without being subservient to any purpose of utility."

I had also the good fortune to find myself still further supported in my intention of publishing, by the annexed extract from No. 57 of the *Quarterly Review*:

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"These latter (domesticated Franks) therefore are the *original* authorities; and whenever they are themselves induced to publish their remarks, nothing can be more clear than that a few sentences from *such sources* are worth all the quartos in which they might be dilated."

With high authorities like these to back me, I commenced my literary *campaign;* and if my *operations* have been misconducted, I can only appeal to *head-quarters* for a lenient judgment.

I have not the usual plea of being urged to publish by the "kind entreaty of friends;" for I have none to consult or advise me: and in the hazardous attempt, I have only to depend on my own resources, unaided by the assistance or directions of any one.

WYKE, DORSETSHIRE,
March, 30, 1824.

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NOTE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

A LARGE impression of my volume having been struck off, the publication of the second edition has consequently been delayed. Instances frequently occur where not a greater number have been printed and the author has been in a third edition. I mention this circumstance chiefly for the information of my friends in India, who are unskilled in the craft of book-making.

I was recommended to put myself in quarto, swimming in a sea of margin—I had always a dislike to that form of publication, it is both inconvenient and expensive—

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besides which, in India a quarto is thought a great incumbrance.

The success of my unpretending labors has been great, and, considering how very few copies (about ninety) have been sent to India, and it being my first attempt at history, eminently so.

I am now occupied in constructing a Map of India. It is on a plan quite original, the materials are of the best kind. I was several years collecting them while serving in various parts of the Oriental Continent, and they were procured and arranged at much personal labor and at considerable expense to myself.

33, Charter-House-Square,
April 5, 1825.

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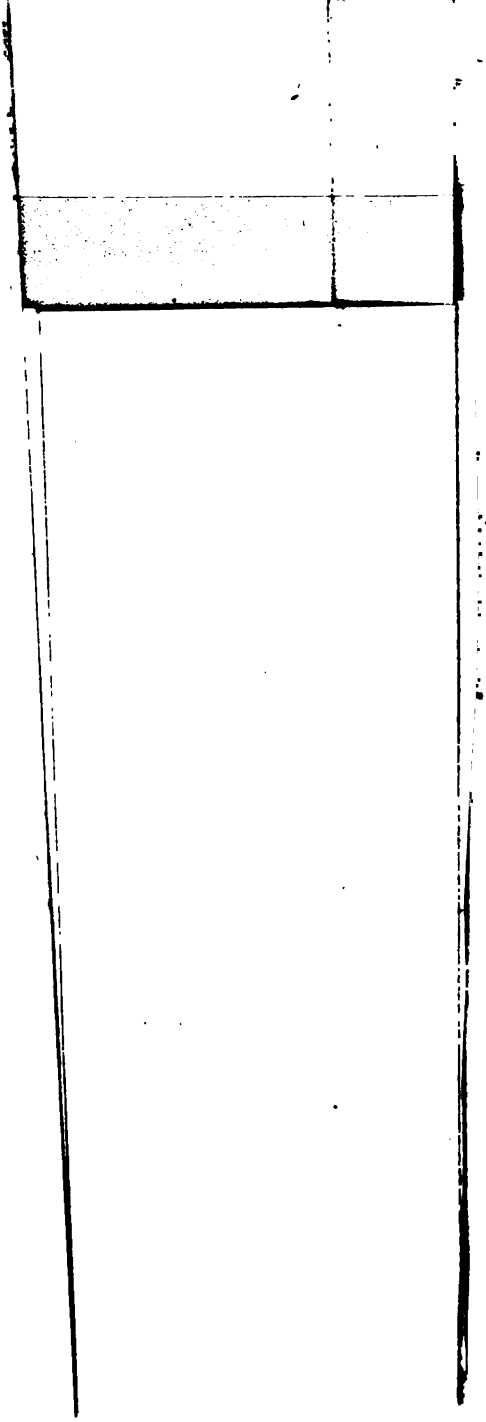

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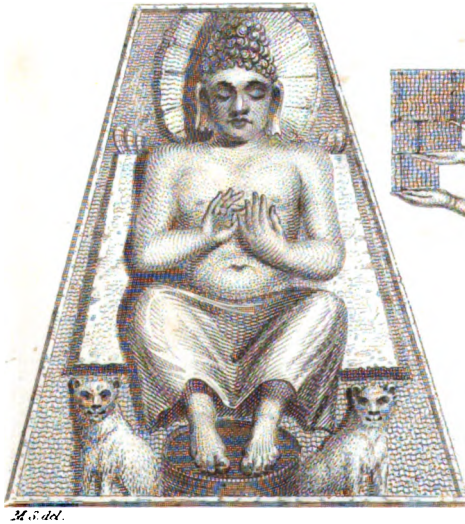
Sita. at Elora. Rama



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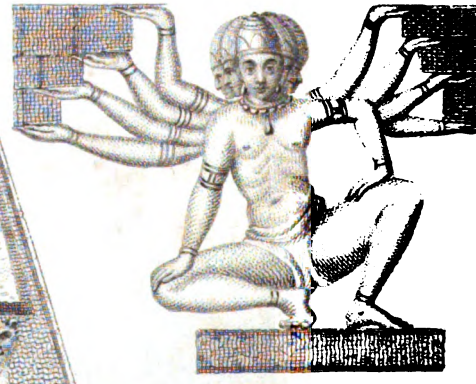
Buddha at Karli.



Ravan at Elora.

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Vishnu.

Lakshmi.

Mhah Deo and Parvati.

Brähma.

Sculptures at Elora.

B. S. del.

R. C.

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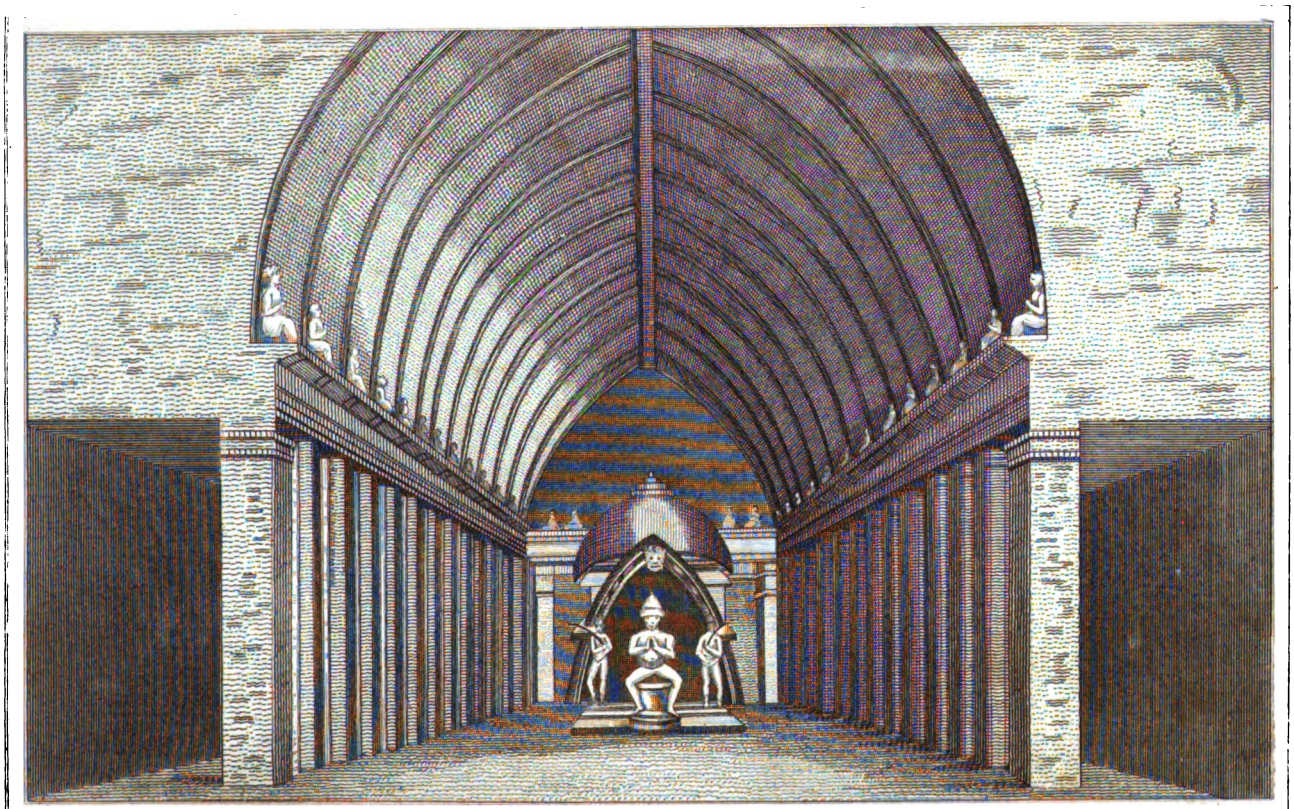

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TEMPLE OF VISVACARMA.

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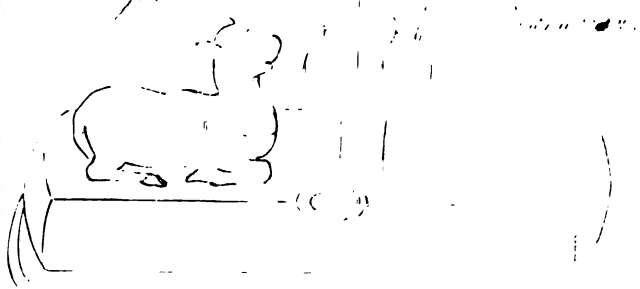

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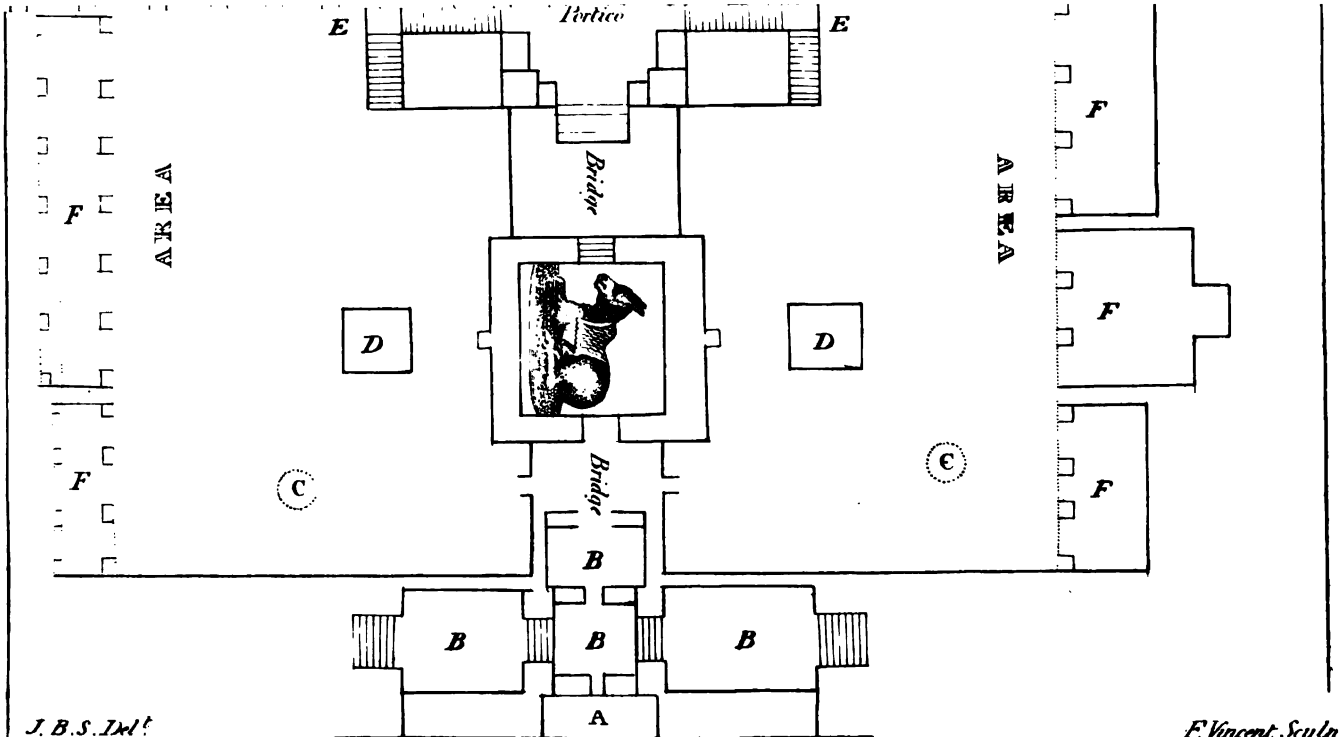

THE INSULATED TEMPLE OF KEYLAS, OR PARADISE,

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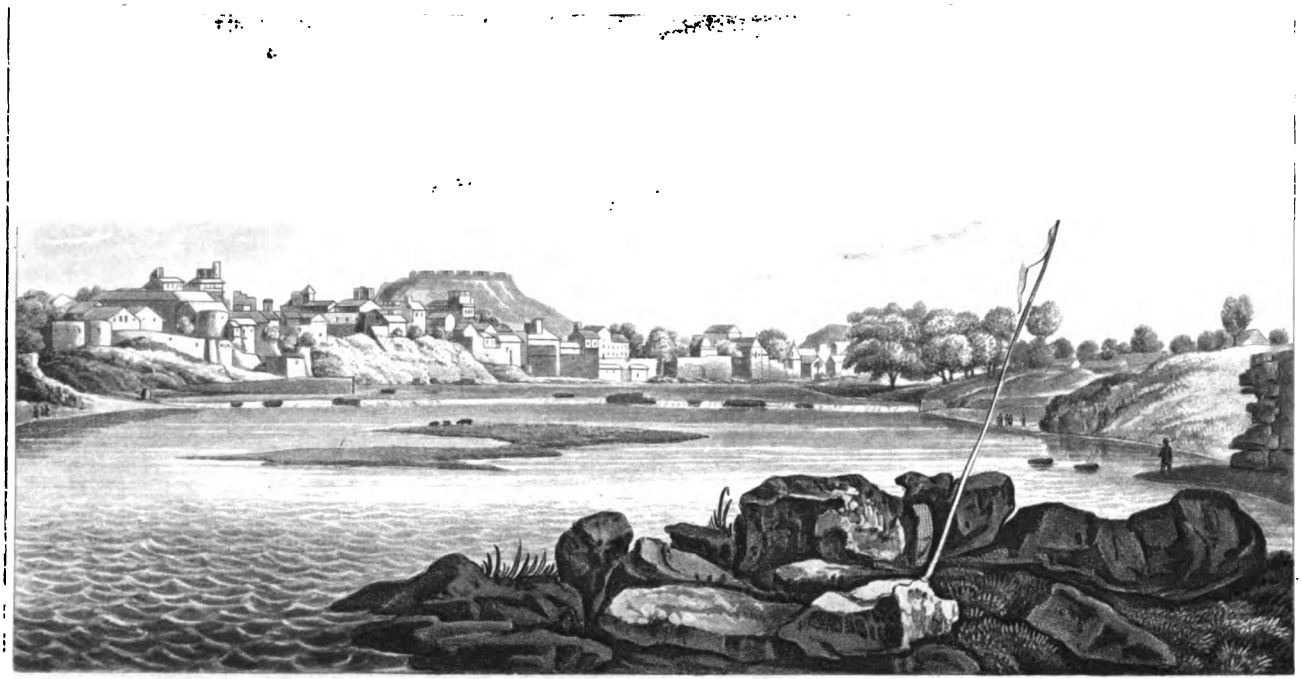

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A JOURNEY

TO THE

TEMPLES AT ELORA,

ETC. ETC.

CHAPTER I.

Regret at departure—Bombay and sister presidencies—Climate and scenery—Derivation of names—Docks at Bombay.

In commencing my journey to the temples at Elora, three unpleasant circumstances presented themselves: first, in bidding adieu to a body of excellent men, with whom I had been in the habit of daily and friendly intercourse for a long period of time; secondly, a long and dreary journey before me, through the Mahratta country, of nearly three hundred miles; and lastly, in writing an account of my peregrinations. The latter was the most formidable of the three; but, as it is an act of choice, I must abide by the consequences. The two former circumstances so frequently occur to an officer in the Indian army, that, were it not from a respect to men whom I really loved, they would not have been alluded to. To them I owed many obligations, being the youngest officer in the

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corps; and whatever virtues or merits I may possess, I entirely owe to the example of that amiable, intelligent, and well-educated body of men. I shall not, however, unnecessarily occupy my pages in this tribute of deserved respect. At the period alluded to we were stationed on a pleasant little island called Versovah, or Isle de Mer, fourteen miles from Bombay. We had every amusement and comfort that men could require: an excellent mess, good houses, a number of books and newspapers, a sailing boat, a billiard-table, cricket, quoits, &c. Our station was also made more agreeable by a constant intercourse with Bombay; the journey to which place, both by land and water, was very agreeable, and rendered cool by the sea-breezes. The neighbouring island of Salsette abounded with picturesque and beautiful scenery; and the good-fellowship and gentlemanly feeling so common in the Company's military service uninterruptedly prevailed here. How fond are the recollections of our early days, when living in good society, the mind properly employed, and undisturbed by cares and vexations! It was, in fact, while I was unmarried, the happiest period of my life. I am sure, reader, your feelings will induce you to pardon this digression: it has cost me considerable pain in writing it; for, alas! out of fifteen officers, only myself and three others (Captains Barton, Wilson, and Wilkins) are now alive, a period of only fourteen years having

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elapsed. I speak of those only present with the battalion of the regiment—all healthy, young, and abstemious men; while I myself have returned nearly deprived of the sight of my right eye, and a partial paralysis of my arms, from an excessive and unskilful use of Goulard extract during a protracted attack of ophthalmia. Indeed, had it not been for the skilful treatment of my esteemed friend, Dr. John Wylie *, at Nagpore, I should now probably be numbered with the dead, or perfectly useless for future service. Having said thus much to introduce myself to the reader, I will in future forego such personal narrative or retrospective recollections as appear unlikely to convey interest or information to the general reader.

Before embarking in our boat for Panwell, the first town on the continent, it will not be amiss to offer a few brief observations on the island of Bombay.

The climate of Bombay is preferable to most parts of India, having a refreshing sea-breeze,

* This medical officer is well known for the bravery he displayed, having actually commanded a part of the Bombay grenadier battalion during its desperate battle with upwards of 15,000 of the Peishwa's troops at Corygaum, after a fatiguing march of twenty-eight miles, under the gallant Major Staunton, in the late Mahratta war. They had only five officers, and not 800 men, opposed to this overwhelming force, yet they succeeded in making good their retreat to Seroor, twenty miles distant. As one half the glorious deeds performed in India are unknown to the British public, and, when known, but very imperfectly, my record may not be ill-timed.

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commonly called, from its healthful effects, *the Doctor*. There is now very little wood on the island, no marshes, and but few large pools of stagnant water. To these causes much of the sickness that prevails in other parts of India must be attributed; and the salubrity of Bombay causes it to be resorted to by invalids from the other presidencies and the interior.

Nothing can be more delightful than the rides and drives in this island: they extend twenty-one miles, and communicate to the neighbouring island of Salsette by means of a causeway. The prospect is as grand and as beautiful as can be imagined: the mighty range of the G'hāts towering in the clouds and extending as far as the eye can reach; the bold views on the continent; the diversified objects on the island; old ruinous convents and monasteries erected by its former conquerors, the Portuguese; the noble country-houses of the Europeans; Hindoo pagodas, Mahometan mosques; the remains of Mahratta forts and buildings: these, with the rural appearance of Hindoo villages, where every patch of ground is richly cultivated or ornamented, and interspersed with groves of date and cocoa-nut trees, afford a prospect of luxuriance and beauty to be met with nowhere but in the Concan *. As we turn our

* The population, under the government of Bombay, is estimated at 2,500,000. Square miles 11,000. The city of Bombay contains 170,000 inhabitants.

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eyes towards the sea, we are presented with a fine hard beach, running on to the high and romantic spot called Malabar Point, which promontory is studded with neat villas; while the city and fort are seen in the back-ground, with the ships securely at anchor in the harbour. Nor must we forget the isthmus called Colaba (probably Cāl-āb, or black water), running for about two miles in a straight line from Bombay, from which it is separated at high water. On this small island, which scarcely exceeds a quarter of a mile in breadth, are several good houses and a range of barracks. At its farthest or western end stands a noble signal and light-house, from the top of which is a very fine view of the island and adjacent country.

Nor is it on land alone that Bombay possesses the advantages of situation. Its harbour, from its great size, smoothness of the water, and, for the greater part of the day, having a fine sea-breeze blowing, affords almost constant opportunity for aquatic excursions: so open, indeed, and, at the same time, so secure is the bay, that for miles, in various directions, the smallest boats may proceed with safety, and, by means of the tide, return at almost a fixed hour. These excursions may be extended seaward, inland, or over to the Mahratta continent, for several miles, embracing in the journey a variety of beautiful, picturesque, and grand scenery. How widely different from the boasted river-parties on the Ganges about Calcutta! where

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you have a muddy, and often a very dangerous, stream to sail on, with light and hot sultry airs, impregnated with all the poisonous effects of miasma, the wind hardly sufficiently strong to impel the boat; or else tracking, by means of a dozen poor wretches slowly struggling through the low, marshy, and swampy banks of the Ganges, where the eye is unrelieved by the smallest change of scenery, and not a hill is to be seen in any direction: in short, where an uninterrupted view of jungle, flat land, water, and mud presents itself.

At Madras the scene on the water is widely different from what we see either at Calcutta or Bombay; and a journey on it, whether for amusement or business, is any thing but agreeable—for you are often in danger of your life, and always in dread, in passing to and fro through the tremendously high and long surfs that incessantly roll on the Coromandel shores, and which commence about a mile inside the roadstead, where the ships lie at anchor. There are three surfs; and, after passing over the head of one mountainous roller into the valley of water between them, you cannot for several seconds see either the city in front or the ships in the rear, till you are forced by the impulse of the first on the top of the second roller. On passing over the surf, a stranger's sensations may be imagined, but cannot be described: the oldest mariners do not like the *first* trip ashore. Accidents sometimes occur; and for days

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all communication between the shore and shipping is cut off. When you have arrived on shore, the heat is intolerable, with clouds of hot sand flying about; and, to add to the miseries of Madras, the musquitoes are the largest and most venomous of any in India: at night they swarm in myriads, nor do they leave a stranger quiet by day. I have both embarked and disembarked at Madras (not from choice) twice: I was wet through the first time, and the people were constantly baling the Massoolah boat; the last time I was in imminent danger with my family, for several minutes.

One of the greatest comforts in all countries is to have good domestic servants: unquestionably the Parsees at Bombay are very superior to their brethren at Calcutta, both in usefulness and fidelity. Those at Calcutta dress well, will only attend to one particular branch of service, nor will any persuasion, or even wages, induce them to use a single exertion beyond a prescribed and very limited duty fixed by themselves. They are very indolent, very debauched in their habits, consequently not to be trusted; and the *Qui hi* menials are mighty consequential fellows. This may be from their education and intolerant principles; for they are all Mussulmans. A Bombay servant will do as much work, and do it as well, as five Bengal servants. The domestics at Madras are chiefly of a low Hindoo caste: they are a hard-

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working, willing set of men, but dirty in their habits, and greatly addicted to drinking.

The markets at Bombay are well supplied, and for the most part the articles are of moderate price. The fish are excellent; vegetables are abundant and good; poultry is reared by the Portuguese in great quantities, and sold cheap. The bread is said by strangers to be preferable to that made in any other part of India. As to commerce, revenue, taxes, manufactures, and statistical subjects in general, I have but too imperfect an acquaintance to warrant my introducing them to the notice of my readers.

A late traveller (1823), I believe a Bengal officer, has the following observations on Bombay. —I must differ with the writer in regard to fruit. I think there is no fruit in the world equal to the Alphonso mango.

"House-rent in Bombay is greatly more reasonable than in Calcutta. A mansion which may accommodate a family may be procured for two hundred rupees per mensem; and I recollect asking the rent of one of a very large size, for which three hundred only was required. This house would certainly have been rented at double that sum in Calcutta. Of the architectural taste displayed I cannot speak in praise; but if there was cause to complain of the painting and ornaments of their exterior, I found abundant reason for favourable contrast in the interior arrangements. The rooms are large and airy, and the high conical roofs ("*mansards*," as they are termed in Paris), although less elegant than those of Calcutta, which are flat and ornamented with balustrades, contribute to the height and coolness of the apart-

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ments, and give them a decided preference in point of comfort. They are larger, also, than in the Calcutta houses, and as far as I could judge, they are quite as well furnished. But the exterior is painted very generally with all the colours of the rainbow; and even Parell, the country house of the Governor, can only be equalled, in the bad taste of its architecture, by his residence in the fort. Both the apartments are spacious, and are often filled by the hospitality of their distinguished owner. I cannot speak with any confidence, or indeed with any fairness, of the society of the island, for I saw but a small portion of its inhabitants, and I have no wish to enter on the "debatable ground" to which such a subject will always lead even the most unprejudiced. I did not think the parties so agreeable as those of Calcutta; and as selection and choice is very limited, to know or be known by all or none, may in some cases be a most distressing alternative. Of the hospitality of the residents of Bombay, there can be but one opinion; and there should be no approbation for that fastidiousness which would reject a pleasure because it cannot be varied. One custom which I found established attracted my attention, as the reverse of that which I had seen practised in Calcutta, though there will perhaps be a difference of opinion as to the merits of either. In Calcutta the stranger is left to make his acquaintance with the society, by introducing himself "*tant bien que mal*" to those with whom he is to live, and the first visit is as scrupulously exacted as it is often ungraciously received. In Bombay, a stranger and a gentleman is visited on his arrival by those who, possessed of rank and inclined to hospitality, feel that they cannot degrade the one by practising the other. Of materials for the supply of an elegant and plentiful table there is no want: the fish is delicious; meat and poultry sufficiently abundant. The bread is excellent, and those who have no distinct recollection of the delicious fruits and vegetables of Europe, may be as well pleased with those which will be found at Bombay as in any other part of India: but here ends the catalogue of the good things, which are alike within reach of all who are rich, and all who are not very poor; for every article of European produce or manufacture is

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certainly double the price of the warehouses of Calcutta. Good water is less easily found than good wine: a local peculiarity to which the majority of travellers will raise no very great objection. The first I never once tasted; of the latter more is liberally offered than it can be healthful or wise to accept."

There was great room for improvement in the government of Bombay, and in the extensive countries dependent upon it. It is well known to be a century behind the other capitals in every thing that has a tendency to make a country flourishing, respectable, and great. It is not for me to investigate or discuss the causes; I have not the ability, and much less the inclination; for being an officer of that establishment, any observation of mine would, perhaps, be deemed injudicious: but all ranks at Bombay, Europeans as well as natives, rejoice in their present enlightened and able ruler, the late British resident at Poona*; who, during his long residence in India, filled the highest diplomatic offices with singular success in the most difficult times; whose energy and judgment are proverbial with all classes of natives, and whose impartiality is acknowledged by all branches of the public service. Such a gentleman as this is invaluable both to the government and the governed: their prosperity and happiness are committed to one who perfectly understands their interests, and whose wisdom and talents have been

* The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, well known to the literary world by his History of Cábool.

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tried and appreciated in the most critical periods in India, while filling various branches of the public service.

Perhaps, for political reasons, it may be necessary for the Supreme Government to possess a nobleman of high rank, great talents, and free of local prejudices and feelings; but the interests of Madras and Bombay are as well administered in the government of an experienced, well-tried, and able servant of the Company. If we consider for a moment the brilliant and almost wonderful administration of Warren Hastings, hampered as he was on every side, surrounded by powerful enemies, and straitened in every resource, with disaffection, famine, and poverty to contend with, we find an unequalled period of disasters and difficulties happily conquered by one who was simply a plain senior merchant in the Company's service. It is, however, time to close this discussion regarding the presidency of Bombay.

By the way, I must mention that Bombay is said to be a corruption of the Portuguese name, *Buon Bahia*, or Good Bay: this, however, I will leave to better etymologists. There are so many dialects spoken in India, that the derivation of the names of most places of any note may be traced: in fact, I did at one time form a long list of proper names, with their supposed derivations; but as the more learned in "oriental lore" cavilled and approved

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alternately at my erudite researches, I gave up this task in despair.

I have seen some strange explanations of words given by Orientalists, and those too in print, in endeavouring to discover the true meaning of Indian names; and I think the reader will agree with me, that my attempt was hopeless, after perusing the following specimens, which I copy from the works of others:

G'hāt, a pass in a mountain—hence our English word *gate*.

Buxis, a paymaster or gift—hence Christmas *boxes*.

Huli, a Hindoo festival—hence *holy*, or *holiday*.

Palkee, or *palanquin*—from a quarter of a lack of rupees, or *Pā-lac*.

Buffaloe—from the French, *bœuf de l'eau*.

I could give many other instances to show how far a brilliant imagination may lead an etymologist.

Before stepping into our fishing-boat from the dock, *en passant* I may just remark, that the Bombay docks are inferior to none in England: they are built of a fine firm stone, capacious, and every way convenient; and do the highest credit to the abilities of the military engineer, Captain Cooper, of the Company's service, who built them. Ships for the East India Company of 1400 tons burthen have been built here, with the wood of the

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country called *teak*, procured from the neighbouring forests of Canara. These vessels are found remarkably durable. The workmen and architects are entirely native Parsees—a very numerous, useful, and industrious race at Bombay. These docks have likewise furnished several very fine ships for his Majesty's navy, from the rate of a sloop of war to an 80 gun ship, and their qualities have been found admirable. The Salsette frigate was for some months frozen up in the ice in the north of Europe, and escaped with less damage than her companions; and I believe the Minden at Algiers sustained a very heavy battering, with less injury to her hull than could have been expected. Another 80 gun ship has lately come to Engländ (the Ganges); and although under jury masts, her qualities were found of a superior order. I have mentioned these circumstances merely with reference to our astonishing empire in India, and to show the capabilities and resources of that truly wonderful country, British India.

An able little pamphlet was many years ago published by Mr. W. Taylor Money, the then superintendent of the Bombay marine (previously many years commander of one of the Company's regular China ships, and now in the East India Direction and in Parliament), on the qualities of teak timber. Those interested in these matters will find it a valuable treatise. This gentleman's departure from Bombay was a subject of universal

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regret, particularly among the natives. A good man's deeds ought to be spoken of:—his charities were most extensive, his benevolent disposition all ranks experienced; he was unaffectedly good and kind. Sir James Mackintosh was then the ornament of Bombay, and the delight of society. His example did much benefit; for society was at that period in rather a morbid state. More might be said; but as our boat is waiting at the Bunder, we will cast off from the subject and the dock-head together.

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CHAPTER II.

Departure—Sporting in India—Friends who accompanied the Author—Scenery on the water—Butcher's Island—Elephanta—Pattamars—Billapore—Panwell.

THE sea-breeze sets in at about ten o'clock in the morning, and keeps gaining strength till the meridian, at which time a fine breeze usually blows directly up the bay. At this time we embarked in our fishing boat: our party consisted of five persons: four gentlemen wishing to accompany me as far as the first stage on the continent. None of the party had attained the age of 23, but were in the prime of youth, hale and strong; neither of them were free livers, but, unfortunately for themselves, they were great sportsmen*. Frequently persons in India are wondrously partial to exposure to the sun in shooting and hunting: by which many, I believe, shorten their days, or lay the foundation of disorders that embitter the whole of their after life.

* Of these gentlemen, one was the best linguist in the Bombay army, in the Mahratta and Hindustanni languages: the second was a pure philanthropist—he could not do too much good: the third was a good singer, and the best amateur comedian we had: the last was an inveterate sportsman—tiger, hog, wolf, jackall, or birds, all the same—the rifle or double barrel was scarcely ever out of his hand.

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Sporting looks very pleasing in Captain Williamson's "Field Sports of the East:" but let a prudent man for a moment consider the intense heat: the thermometer in the shade, perhaps, averaging for four hours 102 degrees; and a young man not inured to the climate, but just fresh imported from England, exposing himself to the scorching rays of the sun, while snipe shooting, up to his knees in water and mud, in the low rice grounds; and some idea may then be formed how many a promising youth is cut off in the very flower of his existence, by his own folly and not by the climate alone. Those inured to it may for a few years escape, but in the end, if it is not fatal, it sends them to England diseased and debilitated. If we add to this, the conviviality and occasional excess, it will be evident how disease originates. Exposure to the sun is the first step towards ill health in India: or as Mallet the poet tells us—

"When the sun, with noon-tide ray,
Flames forth intolerable day,
While heat sits fervent on the plain,
With thirst and languor in his train,
(All nature sickening in the blaze),
Thou in the wild and woody maze
That clouds the vale with umbrage deep,
Impendent from the neighbouring steep,
Wilt find betimes a calm retreat,
Where breathing coolness has her seat."

Sporting in India, from the nobleness of the game,

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and the good fellowship and hilarity which always reign with the parties that go out, are so seductive, that few can resist the temptation. It is a different thing to a fox hunt in England, or to the shooting of half dead pigeons and sparrows cramped up in a basket, whence they are frightened out one by one, and shot at from a distance of ten yards, weakened and dismayed by their confinement; yet what glee and pride do the worthy inhabitants of London manifest at counting the murdered birds! What would they say to the following sport, from a Bengal paper of March, 1823, written by one of the party?

"I have just returned from the Terrai, where I was engaged in a party for thirteen days, looking after tigers. The return of killed and wounded were seventeen tigers, fourteen bears, and three buffaloes, besides deer, hogs, floriken, and partridges without number.

"My elephant behaved very well, and gained so much credit, that she was esteemed the best of the party. A large male tiger charged her, and left the mark of three paws upon her; he would, probably, have injured her very materially, had not a well-timed ball from P.'s gun taken effect in the shoulder of the infuriated assailant, just as he was springing upon her, and thus prevented the use of his teeth. She was not in the least dismayed, but faced her antagonist immediately, and seemed pleased to see him laid prostrate at her feet.

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One pat must have been very hard, for the place is still much swollen and very painful."

Of the party that accompanied me to Panwell not one survives; two died of fevers, one of dysentery, and the other of that dreadful malady the cholera morbus. Had their exit been in the field, I should not have referred to the melancholy subject.

Of late the mortality in India has been so great and unusual, that it excites little or no surprise on hearing of the death of many a respected friend in the prime of life. Let those in health be thankful; let the strong bear in mind that they may be made weak; but, whether weak or strong, be prepared; for in India death is often the work of only a few hours. Had not I a constitution of iron, I must long before this have been with those I am lamenting; and were I to relate the quantity of medicine I have taken, the operations I have undergone, and the torture I have suffered in the space of twenty-four hours, my statement would be disbelieved. I allude to the time when I was labouring under the agonizing pangs of ophthalmia, with raging fever, and an alternate ague—disorders that raged in Guzerat, and which equally affected Europeans and natives*.

* Since the above was written, in January, 1824, four officers out of about fourteen, in the service of the Rajah of Nagpore, have died in the prime of life; viz. Major Jenkins, Capt. Lucas, Capt. Stuart, and Lieut. Ord.

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Nothing in the shape of an aquatic excursion in India can be more delightful than a sail on a secure and large bay, with a fine refreshing sea-breeze wafting you to your destination, with the scenery, as far as the eye can reach, grand, beautiful, and picturesque in the extreme*. An excursion of this kind, with agreeable companions, after a few months' *grilling* in the interior, makes the mind joyful, and the soul glad. On one side, as you proceed up the harbour, you have the mighty range of mountains stretching away their cloud-capt tops in every fantastic and romantic shape; peaks, cliffs, and hollows indented here, and thickly wooded there; the busy and noisy suburbs of Bombay lying on your left, where handsome English mansions, rural-looking native huts, monastic buildings of the Portuguese, with large Mahratta houses, inhabited by wealthy natives, denote opulence and splendour; while the whole scene is embellished with that variety of cultivation and foliage peculiar to tropical climates. As you pass on is an extensive and handsome range of barracks for the king's troops; a little farther on brings you to the town of Mazagaum, chiefly

* "Bombay possesses more natural advantages than any other European settlement in India. I know no place so well situated: its excellent, well defended harbour, the fertility of the adjoining districts, the agreeableness of the climate, and the extreme beauty of the scenery, all contribute to make it one of the most charming spots in the world."—*Mrs. Graham's Letters, p.* 165.

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inhabited by Portuguese and natives. Many pretty views present themselves on the shore in passing up the harbour, while the city and the shipping are gradually receding from the sight. In front is a large old-fashioned house, built by Governor Hornby; beyond that is a large, handsome, white tomb, conspicuously placed on a promontory, containing the mortal remains of a distinguished Mussulman. The curious-looking hill called the Funnel, from its similarity of shape, rises abruptly in front, while on the right a Mahratta fort, called Shoon Ghur (probably Arzoon Ghur), raises its romantic turrets in solitary grandeur in the heart of the mountains. Surrounded by jungle, in all the wildness of nature, on the left the view is bounded by the hills of Salsette, which afford an agreeable back-ground to the whole of this magnificent scenery.

"Among the lofty hills, which formed a back-ground to the scene, Funnel Hill was most conspicuous, from the singularity of its shape; the summit has all the appearance of a vast pillar, elevated in the centre of a flat, on the top of a rock. The whole range of hills is singular in its appearance, and continually afforded subjects for Mr. Salt's pencil. We passed between the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, where the bay begins to contract in its dimensions. The sea-breeze here overtook us. The entrance to the river Pan is defended by a small fort, which was built by the English, and formed into a depôt during the old Mahratta war; it is now nearly in ruins. The river was full, the trees being actually half covered by the water. The paddy fields presented a cheering prospect by their healthy state, and even the mountains were covered with verdure, except where their smooth surface

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was broken by rocky pinnacles rising to a great height. The clouds floated around them, and occasionally, in part, concealed them from our view, which greatly improved the scene. *High cultivation* and *picturesque scenery* have *nowhere* in India been so perfectly united *."

Various inlets and salt-water streams may be seen running in different directions inland, which diversify the prospect; whilst a variety of boats are seen swiftly cutting the briny flood, hurrying on to their pursuits and destinations.

Considerably to our right, and almost in mid-bay, is Butcher's Island, where is a large range of buildings used as hospital barracks for the seamen of his Majesty's navy in time of war. In this place I have spent several pleasant days. One of our amusements was snake catching: these reptiles are here very numerous and large, but I believe not very venomous. Many a brave British tar has at this spot found his final resting place—

> "Till he hears the last whistle,
> When he'll jump upon deck."

This quotation may be ill-timed and misplaced, but I give it as a veteran sailor repeated it to me, while he was, with phlegmatic feeling, looking out, as he termed it, for a "good birth alongside one of his favourite and departed messmates;" for to use his own (characteristic) idea of attachment to his late companion, they belonged to the same gun,

* Lord Valentia's Travels, 4to. vol. ii. p. 107.

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were in the same watch, and pulled in the same boat: this poor fellow, though cheerful, and to outward appearance in good health, was in the last stage of the liver complaint. The only observation that appeared to affect his feelings was when, in observing the shipping at a distance he remarked, "Beyond them and the horizon to the westward is England: I should like to have moored *there;* but it is all the same in the long run." There was philosophy and truth in this that would have done honour to any man.

For their simplicity and the warning conveyed in two epitaphs, at this spot, I insert them:

"In Asia's sultry clime, full many a year cruel fortune's storms I've weathered; cut off in early life by Heaven's decree, one of Britannia's guardians here lies low."

The second is,

"Reader, reflect:—though here I lie,
As you are now, so once was I:
As I am now, so you must be;
Therefore prepare to follow me."

These mementos are the honest effusions of a brave and noble class of men, to whom England owes all her greatness; they serve every purpose of the "pompous urn and storied bust."

On quitting Butcher's Island, called by the natives *Deva Devi*, or Island of the Gods, not far up the bay stands the celebrated Elephanta Island. It is of considerable elevation, and famous for its

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caves hewn out of the solid rock from the face of the mountain; they are considerably injured by time—

> "Whom stone and brass obey,
> Who giv'st to every flying hour
> To work some new decay."

These caves are very much injured by the action of the sea-breeze, and from not having drains cut on the top of the mountain to carry off the rain water; nor has any care been taken to have trenches made at the foundation; so that in the periodical rains they are often inundated, and abound with reptiles, particularly snakes. From their vicinity to Bombay they are frequently visited by parties of pleasure; and to preserve them from wilful injury by casual visitors, a wall with a gate has been lately erected in front, and left in charge of an invalid serjeant, with a few invalid siphauees, to protect them. The old man has a good house adjoining, and has a comfortable sinecure of it, as most visitors do not forget his long stories and the accommodation for refreshment which his house affords. The view from the caves is very fine, as they are situated about 350 feet above the level of the sea. Here is the famous colossal figure of the Trimurti, Brāhma, Vishnŭ, and Sivā, the creating, preserving, and destroying powers of the Hindoo mythology. The cave is large, but by no means equal to the large temples of Karli, or the far-famed ones at Elora.

The guard and wall alluded to were placed for the

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protection of these caves; for Europeans (shall I say gentlemen?) were found not only sufficiently vicious to try to injure the figures and ornaments, but were actually so depraved as to indecently disfigure the deities with a variety of disgusting ornaments and appendages, so that a respectable female could not, without having her feelings outraged, visit these wonderful caverns. It is seldom that men of education are mischievous without cause, and still less frequently do they assimilate vice with mischief; it is to be hoped these debasing acts did not originate with persons designated by the appellation of gentlemen; if they did, these observations will convey to their minds that the whole result of their wit and mischief excited the contempt and disgust of the better part of society.

After sailing three or four miles further, the bay begins to contract: it is still a noble expanse of water; and, from the great variety of luxuriant scenery and its size, would bear a comparison with the celebrated Bay of Naples. I am transcribing my original book from the neighbourhood of Weymouth. This is said to be one of the finest bays in England, but it is not a twentieth part of the size of Bombay.

After passing Elephanta (Ghārri-pouri) for three or four miles, we approach the left-hand shore about Billapore; the land, fort, and village, belonging to the Mahrattas. The swift sailing of our boat, and fine sea-breeze blowing directly up

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the harbour, with four pleasing companions, made our excursion very delightful. The boats used on these occasions are generally the common Mahratta fishing-boats: they sail remarkably fast, are built sharp at both ends, have a very broad beam, and about a third of the keel-piece is deep, but slightly hollowed out in the centre; the latteen sail appears disproportionally large, and it is a good deal peaked; the foot of the sail is almost fore and aft, as the tack is made fast to the stem of the boat, and the sheet in the centre abaft the midships; while the extreme point of the sail at the upper part projects far aft, there being nearly four times more canvas abaft than forward. It will be easily seen how close these vessels must lie to the wind; they do not tack, but dip the sail in wearing. Like the Hindoo houses and forts, they are strongly built, of substantial materials; durability being by them more considered than beauty. These boats are very safe, and go to sea in rough weather. The mast, I ought to observe, is low, and rakes well forward. *Pattamars* and *dows* of 250 tons burthen have similarly uncouth-looking and ponderous sails. The crews are composed of strong, thick-set, muscular men; obliging, good-humoured, and active, as I have experienced on many a pleasant trip, both at sea and in journeys round by the island of Salsette.

Nothing can be more delightful than a sail by the salt-water channel that divides Salsette

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from the continent, passing by the town of Tannah. Inland, the views on either shore are beautifully wooded, the lands picturesque and romantic, with many rude and venerable relics of Mahratta forts and Portuguese churches. You may proceed as far as Bassein, circumnavigating the interesting island of Salsette and part of Bombay for upwards of 60 miles, and enter the ocean again a little beyond Bassein*; and all this agreeable journey may be performed in the greatest safety, and with perfect ease, sailing or rowing amid mountains, hills, and dales, with the shore close at hand on either side, and that shore richly ornamented with the most luxuriant and varied foliage; while an idle hour may be whiled away in fishing or shooting, or in viewing many old ruins that occasionally show their hoary points in the deepest solitudes of the forest.

Tigers† are very numerous; nor are alligators

* Bassein is 27 miles from Bombay by land. It belongs to the Mahrattas. It is the first town on the continent, on the high road to Surat. It was settled by the Portuguese in 1555, and boasted of two colleges, six churches, and four convents. It was taken in 1780 by General Goddard. When Poona was captured, the Peishwa fled there for refuge; and being near to Bombay, he was safe from his implacable enemies.

† Of this I have been an eye-witness; they swim over from the continent: 27 were destroyed in less than three months. The following is an extract from my papers; it happened near where I was stationed:

"At a late hunting party near Tannah, distant about 12 miles,

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wanting in the water, as I have heard, although I never saw any of the latter.

There are various modes of destroying these formidable and ravenous beasts. In the upper province of Bengal, the peasants at night place themselves in a tree, at the foot of which is tied a dog, or a kid: the noise that these poor creatures make attracts the tiger; and those keeping watch, as he approaches, soon level the monster with the ground. On these occasions I have seen them use a match-lock gun, with a barrel of more than the usual length; the balls are in general of iron, of an irregular form, and a good deal jagged. There is some little danger in the above mode of destroying wild beasts. Leopards, which are very common, on their being fired at will instantly climb the tree, and would wound, if not destroy, the assailant. On Salsette, I have seen cages used for decoying the tiger. The cages are on small wheels, for the purpose of being more easily transported from place to place, and are formed of two apartments, one larger than the other, and divided by strong wooden railings: in the smaller apartment is placed some unfortunate pariah dog, or worn-out

a tigress was wounded: she took to a thick hedge, whither she was pursued in a few seconds. Out rushed the male, and a large cub. Ere they fell, a neighbouring *Pâtell* was killed; his son and one villager wounded. Some idea of the size of the male may be formed, from my observing that he measured eighteen inches between his ears."

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milch goat, &c. The bleating of the animal is sure to bring the tiger: finding he cannot get at his prey, he enters the door of the larger apartment, which the "cunning workman" has made so as to fall down the moment the beast enters. When the tiger finds he can neither get at his victim, nor retreat from his narrow confinement, his bellowings and roarings are terrific; the midnight forest echoes and shakes with his lamentations and fury, and his former wild companions flee away stricken with fear. Danger will make men desert their friends in distress—the brute, though not possessing intellectual faculties, has by nature implanted in him a sense of fear, as well as bipeds. I have seen a tiger just caught in one of these cages, and nothing could equal his fury and fierceness. After various violent efforts at escape, grinding his teeth, his eyes flashing fire, and lashing his sides with his tail, he would sit down, as the feline race do in watching a mouse, looking calmly, but sulkily, at those near the cage; he would then almost playfully extend his fore foot and crouch his head, as if intending to sleep. This is the moment to see the real nature of the brute in perfection. Let the observer pretend to approach the cage (but he must be a *little* careful how he does it), and then the enormous claw is expanded to the size of a common dinner plate, the claws protruded, and he simultaneously gathers his whole body with a force and energy only found

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in ferocious and powerful animals, when exasperated by confinement and disappointed of their prey; he endeavours to gripe the person approaching, and it requires no common nerve to *play* with or *annoy* the royal prisoner. If it is a female, who has thus been (while searching for food) separated from her cubs, and she hears their cry, her fury is such, that it is expedient at once to kill her: sometimes, however, she is kept in this state, in the hopes of drawing the male or the cubs to the same place, where preparations have been previously made for their undergoing the same fate. These cages, on Salsette, were constructed by order of the government. They were about nine feet high, and about nine feet square. I believe ten rupees were paid to the natives for every tiger they shot. The decoy animal in the cage, occasioned by fear, was generally found dead. I was once accompanying a native Portuguese priest into a rather gloomy cave on Salsette, and had proceeded some distance, when we discovered a tiger lying asleep. The poor padre was horror-stricken, and instead of quietly turning round and sneaking away, he put the hollow of his hand to his mouth, and was beginning to cry out, *bah, bah!* when, for our mutual preservation, I was obliged to give him a kick, by way of rousing him and silencing his vociferations; for, assuredly stupified as he was by fear, had I not, by this violent proceeding and dragging him

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away by his cassock at the same time, both of us would have become the prey of the tiger.

Pits are sometimes used for the purpose of destroying tigers. These are constructed like the common pit-falls, but only narrower. At the bottom are driven in stakes, generally of bamboo, the upper parts sharpened and hardened by fire. In the pit is placed a dog or kid*; this of course draws the tiger, or leopard, or wolf, to the spot, and in eagerness to get at his prey, he is at last tantalized to make the fatal descent; and when transfixed on the stakes, his agonies and exertions are better conceived than described. I was one night, in 1820, awoke by an intolerable stench: as my house and grounds were kept in good order, I could not conceive where the sickening effluvia could come from; I called to my sirdar bearer (head bearer, a kind of valet), who was lying on the floor, outside the bed-room, to see whence it arose. He, rubbing his eyes, began to snuffle and make wry faces. He then proceeded to the rear *compound* of the house, returned and said, "It's a

* Kid meat is very much esteemed in India, and is by many considered preferable to other meat, and strangers at first think it a delicacy. It has not the coarseness of mutton, the heaviness of beef, nor the grossness of pork. I am inclined to think that a roasted fore-quarter of kid and a good fowl-curry would tempt the Court of Aldermen; and that is saying a good deal, for, both by habit and long experience, they are probably the best judges in the world of what is good.

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tiger, sir." "The devil it is!" replied I. "Ah!" says he, "sir, but he is dead, or I would not have gone near him." True—the animal was dead; but how he came so, and in my grounds, was a puzzle. At daylight he was removed, when the mystery was solved. A siphauee under my command had been absent on duty, and, single-handed, at first shot had struck him in the heart; this so delighted the poor fellow, that the next day an empty cart returning to Nagpore, he placed the beast in it, as a convincing proof of his prowess and skill. The distance being two days' journey accounted for its putrid state.

There are other channels of communication along the shores of the continent, and for many miles inland; but we must now pursue our direct route up the harbour, and not diverge for the purpose of describing places out of our own immediate course.

The fort of Billapore stands rather high, and on a commanding situation. This being the great thoroughfare from the Deccan* to Bombay and the towns to the northward, it formerly must have been of importance to the Mahratta government; and they still make a show of bringing boats to.

* Deccan, South—written Dekan, Dekhān—mythologically Decan, "Son of Ind." It is distinct from what is called Hindoostān. Most of its rivers have mythological names, as well as the principal towns.

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We landed; but the old Killedar*, with a superciliousness that would better have suited the former days of Mahratta power, would not allow us even to approach his castle. We purchased at the village, not knowing but we might be detained by shooting, or other causes, four fowls, rice, yams, onions and spices sufficient for five persons, with fire-wood for cooking, for about 2*s.* 9*d.* English money; and this was dearer than a native would have paid. Our precaution was not needless; for, with loitering, stepping on shore at times, shooting, and a few frolics in *our* managing the boat, we lost the flood-tide, and the fine sea-breeze had gradually declined in strength, till we brought up for the night by making the boat fast to a large wooden peg driven in the bank, along side of which we lay.

Billapore may be about 13 miles from Bombay: this distance, in sailing over a fine expanse of water, with beautiful and grand scenery on all sides, affords a great treat to those partial to aquatic excursions; and, what is to many a matter of first-rate consideration, they are as secure from danger as if sailing on the Regent's Canal. At daylight we cast off; and, what with rowing and occasionally sailing, we arrived at Panwell in time for a good breakfast, prepared by our friend

* Killah, a fort, and Dar a keeper or holder: as Zemin-Dar, Choob-Dar, &c.

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Lieutenant E. who expected us. He was in charge of a detachment of troops usually stationed here, and detached from the subsidiary force in the pay of the Mahratta government of Poona. I should think the distance we had come up from our anchoring station could not be less than seven miles; the channel was winding, the shores low, the great bay was totally excluded from view, but the fine mountainous scenery still remained. Panwell is 13 miles E. by S. of Bombay, but the distance is computed by water at 22 miles. It is 60 miles W.N.W. of the city of Poona*.

The town is distant from the landing-place about half a mile: it consists of a few irregular streets; the houses in general are small, and a few only are tiled; the bazaars well supplied, and most commodities of Indian manufacture are sold in the shops. Around the town are tracts of rice land, which at that time were nearly in full ear. Panwell, from its proximity to Bombay, and being the most convenient and populous thoroughfare to the Deccan, as a central mart, carries on a good trade. During the wars of Sevagi, the Portuguese, and the celebrated Siddee Cossim, Panwell alternately became either the scene of active operations, or else their principal *depôt* below the g'hāts for stores; its situation, from its vicinity to Bombay, Tannah, Mahim, and Bassein, rendered it a great acquisition to either of the contending parties. In

* Vide Appendix.

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1778, during our attack on Poona, it was found a desirable station for the stores and ammunition which were supplied from Bombay. The plan was suggested by Mr. Boddam, then chief at Surat. The town stands on the banks of a small river that comes from the eastward; at high water boats proceed some distance above Panwell.

A large mosque, and a Hindoo temple, are objects that will occupy half an hour of the traveller's attention. The former contains the remains of a Mussulman, who was killed during the Mahratta wars. About a dozen fakeers and others live in an adjoining house, supported by charity: they appear contented with their retired situation. The temple is dedicated to Sivā; Nundi is on the floor, with his head pointing towards a small apartment containing a figure of Vishnu. This apartment is divided from a smaller one by some rail-work, which has three figures of the deities, Rama, Sita, and Lakshmi. These are carved in fine marble: the height of each figure is about 14 inches, and they are neatly attired in their respective costumes. Sita has nose-rings, and the whole of her habiliments are those of a Hindoo female. The countenances of the group are prettily expressed; but the marble is of too pale a colour for the shade that the eye is accustomed to find in the Hindoo face. One of the Brahmans attendant upon the temple informed me, that the marble was brought from the vicinity of Delhi by a zealous Hindoo,

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who built the temple in commemoration of some occurrence that befell him on the very spot. On the left of the Pagoda *, in a small niche, is a rude imitation of a Rakshi engaging an evil spirit. The whole of the building is in good repair, supported by a number of pillars, richly carved. In the front of the temple is a large tank: here a number of Hindoos were performing their ablutions, and saying their prayers. The place is retired; the variety of wild scenery, and the rising crops of grain in full ear, afforded an interesting prospect; while some high mountains to the eastward close the view. We must not omit to mention that extraordinary-looking object, Bhow-mullen rock, which rises, nearly perpendicular, to an immense height, while its centre is rent by an enormous chasm. It towers above the surrounding mountains in a stupendous and romantic form. The whole of the lower rock is strongly fortified, and garrisoned by Arabs† in the pay of the late Peishwa, who, report says, kept a part of his jewels and treasures there. With shooting, and wandering about the town, we

* Major Moor says, this is an unauthorised word. Mr. Maurice, on the other hand, affirms it to be Persian, and gives its derivation.

† The native princes show a great partiality to, and place great confidence in, Arab troops, who readily enter into their service. They do not desert the cause in which they embark; but, to a proverb, are brave, determined, and faithful. They are found in the strong holds of the native powers. General Wellesley, in his capture of Ahmed-nuggur, speaks of their fight-

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had employed the time till the forenoon. Our horses had arrived during the day *viâ* Tannah, which is a long day's journey from hence by land.

There are three modes of conveying luggage from this place to Poona: viz. coolies, tattoos*, and oxen. The hire is settled by a native officer appointed for that purpose by our government. His duty is to see that you are not imposed upon either by bad cattle or overcharges; and, moreover, it is his especial duty to use every exertion that the traveller may not be unnecessarily detained. Without this officer's assistance much inconvenience would be experienced. For the information of the traveller that is passing this road, I shall subjoin the established rates of hire:

A cooly (porter), to carry 56 lbs.

	Rupees.	Qrs.	Reas†.
From Panwell to Poona . . .	2	0	0
Seroor . . .	3	2	0
Ahmed-nuggur	6	1	0
Tokā . . .	10	1	0
Joulnah ‡ . .	16	3	0

ing with their usual obstinacy. During the assault of Baroda they fought bravely. I believe that our drilling and discipline are too much for the high spirit of an Arab to submit to: however, they are never found to volunteer into the British native service.

* Tattoos. These are a kind of small, cat-hammed, and ill-looking ponies: but they are hardy, and walk faster than oxen.

† Reas are an imaginary coin: 100 reas make one quarter of a rupee—the rupee being divided into four quarters.

‡ A station occupied by a part of the Madras army: it is considered as a frontier of the Nizam's dominions.

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A bullock, to carry 160 lbs.

	Rupees.	Qrs.	Reas.
From Panwell to Poona . . .	3	0	0
Seroor . . .	5	0	0
Ahmed-nuggur	8	2	50
Tokā . . .	14	2	50

The hire of the tattoo is, on all the above stages, half a rupee dearer than the ox: considering that they walk somewhat faster of the two, the tattoo is the most preferable animal for baggage. Every day that you make an extra halt, an allowance of a quarter of a rupee is to be paid to each cooly. It is ordered, likewise, that an advance amounting to one half of the hire is to be paid to your coolies, or to the owner of the cattle. There is no danger of their absconding on the road, as their houses and families are well known to the officer who procures them for you.

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CHAPTER III.

Quit Panwell—Mode of travelling—Village of Choke and country —Return of my friends to Panwell—Indian travelling—Native governments—Capooly—Foot of the G'hāts—Large tank—Hindoo girls bathing.

HAVING made the necessary arrangements during the afternoon, in hiring carriage for the transport of my luggage on the following morning at day-break to the next stage at Choke, I devoted the remainder of the day to my friends, who all wished me very heartily every success, although they could not help thinking it was incurring a good deal of expense and trouble, and running some risk, as the country beyond Seroor was generally disturbed by some refractory chief or other, and frequently visited by banditti. These observations, however well intended, had no effect. I had obtained "leave of absence" from the government for the express purpose of visiting the temples of Elora*. When I applied to the public authorities at Bombay it was thought a serious and difficult

* On my return to Bombay the subject of Elora was a good deal talked of. Sir James Mackintosh, with a large escort commanded by an officer, shortly after proceeded to Elora, to whom I furnished a route of the journey.

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journey, particularly as we were not then on very amicable terms with the Mahratta chief Holkar, in whose territories the temples *then* were. To a young and always ardent mind this objection appeared of very slight import: a little management with the natives is all that is necessary; and, if a man has health and a good stock of patience, he may surmount more difficult journeys than mine promised to be. I was always fond of travelling and seeking after any thing that was curious or new, or that promised to be interesting. I recollect once intending positively to join at a hog-hunt, when one of the party exclaimed S—— would rather go cave* hunting, or have a *tête-à-tête* with some old Brahman. In this party I had better have taken the jocular hint of my friend; for in the hog-hunt I was dismounted, and a valuable Arab horse I rode nearly ripped up, by a charge from a furious boar.

After a pleasant evening with my friends at Panwell, at daybreak my baggage moved on. As the cavalcade may be new to the English reader, I subjoin a list. Three bullocks to carry

* In one of my visits to Amboulee caves, in company with Lieut. B——, we discovered a tiger asleep in a dark corner. We had no arms; but on bringing the villagers to the place their shouts awoke him, and he darted off through an opening into the jungle, which was close by. The remains of a bullock were found in the cave—a strange outrage upon a temple dedicated to Nundi!

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a tent, twelve feet square, consisting of inner shell and outer fly, and two walls; three bullocks for clothes, provisions, books, &c.; two porters for camp-cot and writing-desk; one ditto, for breakfast utensils, &c.; one tattoo, or pony, for head servant; two ditto belonging to my servants, of whom I had four with me. There was an escort of six Siphauees and a corporal. Several native travellers accompanied my people for their own security, as the country was sometimes infested with robbers. Although so near to Bombay, yet the neighbouring mountains in the Peishwa's territories afforded them safe and unknown retreats, whence they descended at pleasure to the plains of the Concan*, or the low lands at the foot of the mountains called Payein G'hāt, in contradistinction to Bala G'hāt, or the table-land above the G'hāts†.

I had firmly intended over-night to proceed on my journey at daylight, but the entreaty of my friends compelled me to remain to breakfast and an early *tiffin* (luncheon), and even then wished me to stop another night. It would surprise a stranger to see the kindness and attention a traveller meets with in all parts of India: if he is but respectable,

* Conkan, or Kokun, the ancient Lymirica, known for the refuge it afforded to hordes of pirates; likewise to the early Hindoos as giving rise to the Chitpawana race, of which sect was the late Peishwa, and to the Kucanashta tribes.

† The word *G'hāt* is a defile in a mountain: in Bengal it is *Ghaut*, a landing-place or wharf. It is from the Persian.

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he is sure in every part to meet with a friendly reception; and, if only known by a single line of introduction, his arrival is looked for with pleasure, and the time of his departure with regret. I mean no offence by the observation, but there is a great talk in England of hospitality and good-fellowship; but it is in India where it is understood and practised. There is a shyness, a coolness, and reserve in the English that is very irksome to an old Indian on his first arrival in England. Under this frigid exterior, however, we often find hid the best qualities of the heart, and the most generous and virtuous principles. I had better cease here, lest I draw down upon myself a flagellation from my countrymen. If they knew the love I bear to every thing that is English, the castigation would be quite undeserved.

At three P. M. I positively got off, but not till I found three of the party insisted upon accompanying me the first stage, and had, unknown to me, despatched their camp-cots; and my host, Lieut. E., had forwarded some fowls, &c. with orders for them to be got ready for dinner on our arrival.

To Choke, fourteen miles. After leaving Panwell, the road is rugged and very rocky: in some parts a great want of cultivation appears where the land has a fertile appearance. Crossed the Panwell river, called the Pen, or Pan. From the sea having run out, the water was clear and sweet. Two stony nullahs likewise lay in the

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route, having fine clear streams running to the westward. These are supplied either from springs in the G'hāts, or else drain through channels from unknown sources. About one-third of the journey on, the country assumes a very mountainous appearance. The brows of the mountains present singular and romantic views: frequently, around those of a great altitude, the clouds are seen floating along their summits. Latter part of the journey the lands wear a more cultivated aspect.

The village of Choke is small and rural: the cottages are neat and well thatched with chopped straw; and the environs of the village are well laid out in rice-grounds. At this stage the traveller will find the best lodgings that are to be met with between this and Aurungabad: it is a Hindoo pagoda, built of wood and stone, standing on a terrace. The stone part of the pagoda is a square room, very dark. It is appropriated to the worship of the Ling, which stands in the centre, illumined by the light of an oil lamp having five wicks. On the arrival of a stranger, the Brahman in charge of the temple hastily locks the door, and some persuasion is necessary before he will permit you to view the interior of the room. The whole of this part of the building is what would be technically termed good durable masonry: it has been built forty years. On one side of the entrance is a figure of Vishnu, and on the opposite side one of Gunputty, or Ganesa. Near it stands a rude imi-

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tation of a tiger cut in stone. The Brahman gave me to understand it was one of the favoured animals of Siva's destructive power. A devotee who paid his devoirs to the image while I was present had implored its protection, as he was necessitated to go that day into some thick jungle at the foot of one of the neighbouring mountains.

The part of the pagoda that the traveller occupies is a large convenient apartment. Towards the night it is rather cool, as the front is entirely open and exposed: the breeze at night is very chilly. Robberies are not very frequent, the Patel* of the village having within these few months inflicted a summary punishment upon some Bheels who had begun to infest the neighbourhood. Two of them being detected in plundering, he had them hung up by the heels, perfectly naked, and exposed to the fury of the mid-day sun till they were dead. Two Siphauees are placed in the village for its protection, and for the assistance of officers who are passing. Much convenience results from this appointment; for the villages afford such scanty supplies, that a great deal of trouble is experienced

* This word is not in very general use. They are sometimes called Paleedars, Kissedars, and Bagdars, or holders of shares in the soil: literally it is taken as the head of a village. To them the amildars, or managers, look up for due care being taken of the village, its inhabitants, property, and revenues. They are not unlike in the functions of their office, to the Pravurtyakarer of Malabar.

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in obtaining even a fowl; to your own servant they pay not the least attention, though the specified sum is offered; and if by any accident you may require carriage for your baggage, without the aid of a Siphauee, who is acquainted with the village and its inhabitants, you stand but a sorry chance of being able to prosecute your journey the ensuing day. Coercive measures are strictly forbidden by our government; in the territories of an ally it is absolutely dangerous; but when you are informed by the Siphauee that your wants may be supplied in the village, the patels, or heads of the village, have no more obstacles to throw in your way. Cupidity, tyranny, and an attempt at insolence (if they find you are timid), are the leading traits in a Mahratta officer's character; this observation is not hastily formed, nor prematurely asserted; it is the result of impartial conviction.

At daylight, having taken a final farewell of my three friends, who intended returning to Bombay, after remaining two days at Panwell with my late host, I proceeded on my journey, having the preceding night sent off the breakfast-utensils and supplies by my servant and a Cooly, and one Siphauee, with an order to halt, after night-fall, at the first hut or village he might come to. By precautions of this kind, your servant, &c. being in advance of you for four or five miles, after your arrival on the following morning, fatigued and tired with bad roads, and a hot sun, you have not long to wait for

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breakfast, for it is ten to one if the remainder of your baggage or servants arrive till ten or eleven o'clock, as probably they do not get every thing packed up and moved off the ground till half an hour after your departure.

In the rainy season, with the execrable state of the roads, rivulets, or nullahs, running impetuously, and large rivers without bridges, the miseries of travelling, regulated by a heavily laden ox's pace, are most intolerable. An Englishman, accustomed to the celerity of mail-coaches, the comforts of an inn, a dry skin, fine roads, and a beautiful country, would be almost driven mad. The natives of India never possess much energy or action, and on a heavy monsoon-day*, when well drenched with rain, they are nearly inanimate: if to this be added journeying in an enemy's country, every blade of grass burnt up, the wells poisoned, the villages destroyed and deserted, and you, for security's sake, obliged to keep close to your baggage-cattle, that are walking at a rate of not above two miles in the hour, or hardly that, and the rain falling in torrents for days together; I think an English traveller would lament a little his hard fate.

While sojourning after his fatigues on muddy ground, his baggage wet through, and his servants exhausted, the most lonely hedge alehouse in Cornwall would appear to him a palace. If tra-

* A corruption from the Persian *mousum*, a season, the N.E. and S.W. monsoons, improperly applied to the rains only.

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velling by himself in the fair season, or N.E. monsoon, with "all appliances to boot," it is but a melancholy thing; there being but little on the road to interest or gratify the traveller, excepting in some large city, where the pride and vanity of a great man may have erected a splendid mosque or pagoda, or dug a fine tank, or for defence built a large fort: the intermediate country is the scene of poverty, wretchedness, and oppression. I speak of the countries of the native powers; our provinces present a very different aspect. As I do not mean again to recur to this subject, the following lines will assist me in the observations on travelling; although from my own experience I could fill a hundred pages on Indian travelling, and events and incidents connected therewith.

Dost thou, then, listening to the traveller's tale,
Of mountains, wilds, and towns of ancient fame,
And spacious bays and streams, renown'd of name,
That roll their plenty through the freshen'd vale—
Dost thou, then, long to voyage far away,
And visit other lands, that thou may'st view
These varied scenes, so beautiful and new?
Thou dost not know how sad it is to stray
Amid a foreign land, thyself unknown,
And when o'erwearied with the toilsome day,
To rest at eve, and feel thyself alone.

The distance from the last stage, Choke, to Capooly, is fourteen miles; the roads very bad, at times winding, and over several rugged ascents. The

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view all round is limited by mountains and hills: in front is seen the great range of G'hāts peeping above the clouds in one continued chain of precipices, naked rock or inaccessible heights; but little cultivation during the journey, although the soil appears rich, and fit for agricultural purposes.

The population is very scanty, the country not yet having recovered from the long and desolating wars of Holkar, Scindiah, and other princes, particularly of the former, so late as 1803. The annihilating effects of Mahratta warfare are well known, and may be summed up in these words: viz. exterminating the people, and burning every thing. These horrid outrages were, if possible, aggravated by the ruinous system of defence established by the Poona government, in remorseless exactions and conscriptions in their own territories, while every public officer seized the afflicting periods (for there were many) to aggrandize himself, impoverish the state, and ruin the people. If he had the means and opportunity, he was sure to throw off his allegiance, which was only to be reclaimed by grants of land and bribes; and if the invader outbid his liege-lord, he was sure to join the highest bidder, or he whose fortunes were ascendant in these ruthless times. The state of the country and the condition of the inhabitants cannot be imagined; at all times living under the very worst system of government, but in war assailed by the additional calamities of plunder, burnings,

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and captivity; so that the country and its inhabitants were in a constant state of indescribable and heart-rending distress.

Nor was it the horrors of war and misgovernment alone that afflicted the natives of India at these periods; famine was a certain attendant, and, in a despotic and corrupt government, men in power did not fail to turn it to their own advantage, by forestalling the produce, prohibiting importation of grain, and by every nefarious act enhancing the price. In a country where agricultural labours depend entirely upon periodical rains, a partial failure is severely felt, but a great drought is attended with the most fatal * consequences; and there is nothing in the moral code of native governments to ameliorate those occasional but dreadful wants. Epidemics are sure to succeed, sweeping off whole villages; then steps in a predatory horde to complete the work of destruction and death. The parent government, indifferent to the fate of the people, torpid in its powers, and corrupt in its very source, often participates in the spoliations of its own subjects. A recent instance occurred where I was stationed, of a native prince receiving about one lac and a half of rupees (about 18,000*l.*) for allowing a Pin-

* I have been an eye-witness both in the Carnatic and Guzerat of the effects of famine and disease, of murderous incursions, and unexampled crime and rapine, by the native rulers, that European history can furnish no parallel to.

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darry chief to make a foray through a *part* of his capital, during the night, for plunder: and they returned unmolested and successful, passing by the houses of the British authorities by permission, and with the concurrence of the prince of the country!!

To descant upon *our* liberal and humane rule in India would be an interminable task, as would be the showing of the vast benefits derived by Great Britain from her Eastern dominions. I will give an instance of some little weight to my argument as relates to this country.

"In the year 1794, when the horrors of impending famine aggravated the miseries of war, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, at the recommendation of his Majesty's ministers, transmitted by express to Lord Teignmouth, Governor-General of India, intelligence of the calamity that threatened Great Britain, desiring whatever aid the Government of India could supply. On receipt of the despatch, the Governor-General, with that promptitude and energy which distinguished his administration, exerted the influence of Government with such effect, that 14,000 tons of shipping, almost entirely India built, were freighted to carry rice to England, and were loaded and cleared from the port of Calcutta in less than five months from the date of the arrival of the letter. This supply, with the exception of the casualties of the sea, arrived most opportunely for the relief of the poor of London, and reduced the price of that excellent article of food to three-halfpence a pound. So extraordinary an exertion is neither so widely known, nor so justly appreciated, as it merits. It is a circumstance which reflects the highest credit on all the parties concerned, and deserves to be recorded in order to declare to posterity the vast resources of Great Britain; which was enabled to draw seasonable supplies of provision for the relief of the me-

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tropolis, from colonies situated at the distance of nearly two-thirds of the equatorial circumference of the globe.

"A similar instance occurred afterwards, at the commencement of the present century."—*Asiatic Journal, September*, 1824.

I must put a limit to these observations; for, with my own inclination to be communicative, my task would be almost interminable, and we should never get to Elora; for, as yet, we have not got to Capooly, the second stage only out of nearly 300 miles. A few words more, and we shall be at the foot of the G'hāts. The poor wretched people of whom I have been speaking are, among themselves, mild, charitable, and affectionate; while their superiors, for tyranny, avarice, and treachery, are unparalleled by any order of men on the face of the known earth, without one qualifying virtue: their iron rule, indeed, would demoralize the most virtuous and enlightened nation*.

* I could advance many specific instances; but as I do not wish that my *ipse dixit* should be alone received, the following, from a Calcutta newspaper, speaking of Scindiah's country, in April, 1822, will corroborate my remarks:—

"The short period of three years only since this country has come into our possession, has made an amazing difference in the prospects of its inhabitants. They can now toil, and reap the advantages of their labour, without the apprehension of being plundered of the fruits thereof; but the country is so thinly inhabited, owing to the continual depredations to which it was formerly subject, that it will take some years of peace before it becomes again populous. Since our becoming masters of it, all those hordes of Bheels, and thieves of all descriptions, which inhabit the hills and fastnesses around, have found out that it is far

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That the moral fabric is not more deteriorated, or that it holds at all together, is to me surprising; but men will propagate their species,— and the extraordinary fertility of the vast regions of India, unquestionably the richest country in the universe, precludes almost the necessity of tillage, so prolific is the soil, and so bountiful the gifts of Providence, yet with these blessings the people are but little better treated than the beasts of the field. Property they have none: to liberty and justice they are utter strangers. I know the people of whom I speak, and have closely observed their moral and political treatment, in all its ramifications. Nothing but a series of years, under the beneficent, but firm administration of the British, can restore nearly one half of India, and thirty millions of

preferable to exist upon the bounty of government, than upon the precarious tribute they were accustomed to levy upon travellers, which very seldom ended but in the murder of some one or other: they find that our government is determined to put down such practices, and, knowing we have the power if we only choose to exert it, they in general have become quiet, and have again taken to cultivate the ground, which they formerly quitted, when they found thieving a more thriving trade. The valley on each side the Taptee, leading to Khundeish, in which Boorhanpoor is situated, and which belongs to Scindiah, is a very fine country, but terribly oppressed by the Soobahdar, who is a Brahman. Asseergurh, about two years ago, had not above a thousand inhabitants; whereas now it has double that number, and is increasing. The villages are also collecting inhabitants, as they find protection from plunder by quitting Scindiah's villages, and becoming cultivators in those belonging to Asseergurh."

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people, to even a subordinate rank in the scale of nations.

It requires no common energies, knowledge, and management, to render uncultivated countries productive, to repeople deserted villages, to make an abject and oppressed population industrious, and to substitute for coercion, fraud, and villany, honest, equitable, and liberal measures; yet, difficult as this task may appear, it is rapidly taking place, and peace is returning where once lamentations and despair had their permanent abode. I have but lately travelled over five hundred miles of the Nagpore territory*, and may therefore speak with some confidence.

My heart has bled within me in travelling through the extensive territories of the late Peishwa. Our minister (residents as they are locally called) had not the power of controlling the ruinous system of his highness's administration, who added to natural imbecility and rapacity the darkening and dismal sway of a Brahman. How must the enlightened and humane mind of that very eminent statesman,

* To the vigorous, humane, and enlightened measures of Mr. Jenkins, at Nagpore, since the abdication of the late Rajah, Appa Sāhib, the country is fast progressing to comparative affluence and happiness. The able and judicious conduct of Colonel P. Agnew, on the Chootisghur frontier, is in accordance with the views of Mr. Jenkins, whose acknowledged talents, exalted character, benevolence to all ranks, oriental acquirements, and amiable manners, render him highly estimable, and as a public officer invaluable.

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our resident, have revolted at what he daily witnessed, but could not contravene! A day of retribution came: the Peishwa* had the preposterous temerity and base ingratitude to head the Mahratta confederacy against his best and, in truth, his only friends, the British; who had rescued him in his former adversities, cherished him in the day of need, and succoured him throughout his chequered fortunes, from the first to the last, against enemies who had both the power and inclination to overwhelm him. If a man or a prince has justifiable reasons for aggression, let him vigorously pursue them to the very extremity of retaliation; but the Peishwa, like Appa Sāhib, at Nagpore, had not a shadow of complaint against us. Poor human nature, thou art the same, whether in a Brahman prince, a French emperor, or a Roman dictator; ambitious, restless, grasping, and discontented; ever going on to thy own undoing!

Now, kind reader, lest I, a poor half-pay captain, should undo myself in your critical opinion, or weary your patience, we will, with your kind leave, arrive at once at our halting ground at Capooly, a mean, dirty little village, situate at the very base

* I believe the allowance he now gets from the British is eight lacs of rupees per annum (about 100,000*l.*); he resides near that holy spot Allahabad (the city of God), or, as the Hindoos call it, Ganga-pour, the place of Ganga (or Ganges). He is well treated, and can now, happily for himself and his late subjects, do no further mischief.

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of the great barrier wall of rock that supports the table land of the Deccan, propping up an immense tract of country, some large rivers, several millions of people, and many cities, towns, and villages*.

This enormous chain of mountain is securely fastened by iron-bound buttresses of primeval granite, as naked and frightful to look on in some places, as they are romantic and singular in appearance in others. Above and beyond these mountains we fancy another world, of whose inhabitants we know nothing; how to visit them, how to penetrate their country, or how to scale their inaccessible-looking wall, extending for thirteen degrees of latitude, and rising to a height of from 4 to 5,500 feet.

Whilst taking a glance at the frowning aspect they present, one imagines there can be no ingress; for, unlike Sterne's bird, it is not how to get *out*, but how to get *in*. We forget for the moment, that man can subdue rock, and make even steam contend with the roaring ocean. On taking a more leisurely view of the mighty wall before me, while wandering about this most interesting spot, two or three apertures were seen, but the difficulty was how were they to be approached? "whose top to climb is certain falling, or the fear as bad as falling." All my cogitations on the subject

* In the Deccan the population is estimated at 8,000,000, with 60,000 square miles. The population of Poona was reckoned at 86,000.

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were soon put to rest by the arrival of about 150 bullocks, laden with grain for the Bombay market; the drovers soon having eased my doubts with respect to the apparent impossibility of surmounting the barrier.

From the wretched state of the roads, my poor servants did not arrive till past the meridian hour; but one whom I had sent forward over-night had prepared my breakfast; after which, as I often was wont to do after the perspiration produced by walking about the village had subsided, I jumped into a tank, clothes and all, which, without apprehension of danger, I left to dry upon me *. It was insufferably hot at this place, situate in an amphitheatre of mountains, the naked face of each burning with heat, and reflecting the rays, while every breeze was excluded. All the heat was concentrated, as it were, in a focus; the thermometer was at 104 in the shade, at two P. M.

Not wishing to give my servants trouble after their long march, I did not pitch my tent, but occupied the house, or rather hovel, mentioned in the subjoined public document by the late highly esteemed Sir R. Close, Bart., a former minister at Poona; and whose nephew, Captain Close, holds a

* Captain L——d, a brave and excellent man, usually in the very hot weather, on going to bed had his sheets sprinkled with cold water. Dr. O——n, a friend of mine, when tired, or in hot weather, would always jump into the first tank he came to with his clothes on.

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high diplomatic appointment at the court of Scindiah, with distinguished ability. His talents were well appreciated, as formerly first assistant to our minister at Poona. Why should I not speak of eminent individuals? they have done me no favour, but I wish to give every man his due; their merits are unknown in this country, although their functions are of the highest importance. While talent and merit are sought out and employed, the best interests of the natives and the honour of England are secured. But to the official paper in question.

" The buildings near the tank, at the bottom of the Bhore G'hāt, were erected by Nānā Furnavese, for the accommodation of certain Brahmans of the sacerdotal order, whose duty it is to entertain such Brahmans who, as travellers, may have occasion to halt at Capooly as a stage. To answer the expense of this charitable institution, the revenues of the village of Capooly are given to it as an endowment. As the institution is intended for the accommodation of Brahmans only, it is evident that individuals of another religion or caste cannot occupy the choultries and other buildings at Capooly without defeating the purpose of the institution, and rendering its charitable views but of little avail. The institution is at present under the patronage of Bala Row Angria; who, to save the Brahmans from being put to inconvenience by passengers, has resolved to erect a commodious bungalow near the great tank, for the accommoda-

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tion of travellers; and officers and all individuals connected with the Honourable Company's government are particularly requested, in halting at Capooly, to refrain from disturbing religious Brahmans before alluded to, and to occupy the above bungalow, erected especially for their purpose *."

In an adjoining house, belonging to a Brahman, a lady of quality of the Poona court, on her way to the fort of Bassein, had taken up her abode. She was accompanied by a numerous suite, guarded by thirty horsemen and ten match-lock men: in her retinue were several females: her tents and baggage were carried by two elephants, eight camels, and several led horses.

At Capooly is a very large tank, exceedingly well built, the sides lined and the banks paved with a fine stone; there are several flights of handsome steps leading to the water. It was excavated by the wisest and best of men, the celebrated Mahratta minister Nānā Furnavese, at an expense of about 12,000*l.* Nānā, though a Mahratta, and a person of the highest power, paid for both labour and materials. The tank occupies a quarter of a mile of ground. In this tank several young females, both beautiful and innocent, were bathing and playing, quite unconcerned at my near approach. Had they been spoken to they would have fled like the timid deer, or if only on a *probable* chance of

* Fakeers and Hindoo mendicants are fed, but not lodged.

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pollution, they would have drowned themselves instantly, or stuck a dagger in their hearts. These are the same women who cheerfully burn themselves alive with the dead bodies of their husbands. Their life is that of pure innocence and chaste love. They are idolaters, and can neither read nor write, unsophisticated and untaught, yet possessing the highest moral attributes. True it is, they are heathens: but look at the educated European female, who commits adultery, nay, abandons her offspring, and, monstrous as it appears, lives in shameless prostitution in the face of open day with her paramour; while, as is sometimes the case, the deserted husband consoles himself with another man's wife. The Hindoos will not believe these things. How much more would their incredulity be excited on perusing a file of London papers, teeming with all crimes and atrocities; rapes, murders, incests, seductions, bestialities, sacrilege, arson, infanticide, suicide, child-stealing!

We, forsooth, are a polished nation, and purpose reforming the Hindoos, poor creatures! It is a pity that such a virtuous, docile, affectionate, sober, mild, and good-tempered people should be calumniated by ignorance and hypocrisy. But a truce to moralizing. These girls were symmetry itself,—small, but exquisitely proportioned; their feet and hands slender and delicate; flowing and thick black tresses, *daily* washed and perfumed; small but remarkably regular features, piercing

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black eyes, good teeth, and a graceful and firm step. This is a correct picture of a Hindoo female just stepping out of a tank, arrayed in her graceful sāri*, which they allow to dry on them. To these beauties of person we may add, the sweetest of dispositions, and most fervent affection to parents and relatives. As the Hindoo women never intermarry with strangers, or quit their native country, on seeing one family you see the nation. Deformed or rickety children are very rarely seen. After twenty-five years of age, the women get old and decay fast. They marry at twelve or thirteen years of age.

* A light and elegant kind of drapery, often of silk, varying from four to six yards in length. It first folds round the waist, then, loosely passing between the legs, is brought across the back and over the right shoulder, gracefully covering part of the breast, but leaving the arms and legs uncovered.

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CHAPTER IV.

Mahratta music—Quit Capooly—Ascent of the G'hāt—Mountain scenery—Brinjarree encampment—Hindoo temple—Magnificent views—Top of the G'hāt—Hindoo porters—Palkee bearers—Cundalla—Mahratta warfare—Tanks—G'hāts and mountains—The Tanara G'hāt—Karli temple—Quit Karli—Telligaum—Journey to Poona.

After making my arrangements for marching at earliest dawn, I retired to my humble pallet, but not until I had killed two large blue scorpions, that were perambulating the walls opposite the oil-light. Notwithstanding the fatigue of the day's journey, and in roaming about the neighbourhood, I in vain tried to sleep. The Mahrattas in my vicinity kept up such a confounded noise with the *tam-tams*, cymbals, and pipes, that to sleep was impossible. Whether the music was to serenade the "lady fair," or amuse themselves, or both, I know not: to me it was any thing but the "harmony of sweet sounds." I addressed my Siphauee sentry, by asking him if the music was not intolerable? He, with great *naïveté*, replied, that he thought not, for *Dekhaney* music was very fine! Getting no consolation from him, a polite message to the Brahman, to play in a lower key, had the desired effect. It was not the sound of the instru-

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ments, so much as the shrill and deep echo that the mountains, and particularly the water, returned back in melancholy reverberation.

A little before day-break we commenced our formidable undertaking, of what appeared to be nothing less than scaling the mural sides of towering mountains. The road, after going some little distance, becomes very steep, lined with high banks, and interrupted by large stones and fragments of rock. The distance may be altogether six miles, but equal to treble that number in any thing like a good road. Proceeding onwards on foot, the path at an abrupt angle overhangs a frightful precipice and valley, covered with an eternal jungle, and where probably the foot of man never penetrated: here, in the very bottom, peeping out of the deep foliage, gleam the waters of a few meandering streams, which have their sources in unknown parts of the mountains. Beyond this immense hollow are seen the forms of vast mountains, towering away, as far as the eye can reach, in rude and magnificent outline, till they are lost in the clouds, or their continuity only known by their rent clefts and peaks, peering through the light-blue veil of mist.

In some parts of the road the passage is guttered by little streams of water, that run gurgling down the precipitous fronts of the rock, affording a pleasing, soothing sound, as we trace our course through these sequestered spots. Not quite half way up,

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is a small patch of table land*, where the traveller is sure to halt and take some refreshment†, not more for the purpose of recruiting his strength than regaining his wind; for, what with clambering, slipping, and proceeding up a very steep ascent, great personal exertion is required.

At this spot, the convoys of bullocks, carrying merchandise to and fro, halt for an extra day and night, if greatly fatigued. In their night encampments they take every precaution against thieves and wild beasts: they select the mural side of an open spot to place their cattle: thus the steep side of the mountain flanks one side, while the bags containing the produce they carry are piled up to some height, and, when placed, form something

* Colonel Fitzclarence, in his late journey down this pass, observes, "The number of beautiful views which continually presented themselves were delightful. I never in any part of Spain or Portugal saw finer scenery." Again he says, "But magnificent and stupendous as the scenery is around, it does not, I am told, in any degree equal the ghauts to the southward." The Colonel further remarks: "I had gone through so much fatigue and personal exertion, that I was quite unwell when I reached the bottom." At this g'hāt, during the late war, pioneers had been at work: when *I* went up it was in all its original wildness, as the heavy rains had left it. The Mahratta government wisely declined improving it; but, scarcely credible, with such a strong defence, they allowed, in the late war, a battalion to go up unmolested—the astrologers having predicted that it was not a lucky day for fighting!

† A traveller is usually accompanied by a servant, carrying a basket of refreshments.

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like the segment of a circle: within are the families, and sometimes cattle. One or two watchmen are stationed on the top, while fires are burning in front. Their dogs (the Brinjarree) are a valuable breed, fierce, strong, and watchful—evidently a cross of the wolf and domestic dog. Thus will these carriers travel for 1000 miles, with a convoy of as many laden bullocks; and they are very punctual and honest in their dealings. Without their aid, according to the mode of warfare in India, whole armies would be starved. They always go well armed, and in critical times have escorts. They have paths and routes known only to themselves, which they traverse from one extremity of India to the other.

At this spot I halted for nearly half an hour, enjoying the happiness of early morn amid some of the most magnificent and beautiful scenery that can be imagined, and which is only to be found in mountainous regions. The exuberant beauty of the vegetable world, the vast variety of shades in oriental foliage, a fine cool morning, the solitude of the pass, and the constant change in the character of the mountains, hills, rocks, and valleys, as I proceeded upwards, gave an elasticity to a youthful mind that may be felt, but cannot be expressed by a tame writer like myself. Poetry may assist in this dilemma:

"Delightful sure it is at early morning
To see the sunbeam shine on scenes so fair,

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> And when the eve the mountain heights adorning
> Sinks slow, unpurpling the luxuriant air;
> Pleasant it is at times like these to roam:
> But wouldst thou not at night, confined within
> Thy foul, and comfortless, and lonely inn*,
> Remember with a sigh the joys of home?"

The banks which line the pass are sometimes of considerable height, thickly wooded, and so dense as to be impervious to the rays of the sun. To the left is a narrow foot-path, not so steep as the common pass, but very dangerous, as it winds round the brows of the mountain, and over deep chasms and valleys. I did once go that way, which is somewhat shorter: the variety in the views did not, however, compensate for the danger of the path.

Proceeding onwards, where an open spot presented, I and my servant amused ourselves with precipitating large stones down the sides of the mountain:—their rebounding, breaking off the branches, and sending forth ever and anon a rustling and loud noise, as they flew to the bottom of the abyss, occasionally relieved the fatiguing task of clambering up the G'hāt. We had a view at

* For *inn*, read hut or hovel; often in part occupied by cows or buffaloes, covered with cobwebs the growth of years, the retreat of venomous reptiles, and generally proof to neither wind nor water. A long march, or cattle fatigued, will for a day or two leave a traveller without either tent or baggage; or sometimes it arrives too late in the day to be useful.

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one place of the low country, and the village we had left in the morning, now diminished to a speck, and the expansive sheet of water to a small horse-pond.

On the left of the path is a Hindoo temple, or cave, hewn out of the rock: it has been a fine piece of excavation. Near it is a pool of clear spring water. I was too tired to explore the interior—sufficient now was the employment of contemplating nature, "ever rich, ever new*." I merely slaked my thirst at the fount, and then proceeded on; for, in addition to being very weary, the sun was beginning to get hot, a hint not to be disregarded in expediting your progress. For the last mile and half the pass was very difficult and steep.

Near the summit, on the left hand side, is a tremendous valley, of an oblong figure, of immense depth; it may be half a mile in length, and nearly a quarter broad, but to give a probable estimate is impossible. As I stood on the brink, I shuddered at looking into the vast chasm beneath. The three sides are almost perpendicular. Here and there, through an interstice of the rock, a

* Major Moor observes of this G'hāt, "I determined to descend the mountain alone, that I might enjoy the tremendous scenery of this unrivalled region." I have known gentlemen, for their health and pleasure, live for weeks in the mountains, a few miles to the northward or southward of this pass: the latter is the preferable selection.

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stunted tree has forced its way out. The bottom of this valley is overrun with trees, which appear like small bushes; and it requires some nerve to look even at this natural basin, much less to calmly explore it with the eye. My servant, a Portugueze lad, called to me two or three times to come away, nor would any inducement prevail on him to adventure nearer the edge than a good twenty feet.

This romantic spot abounds with monkeys and pea-fowls. Some fine cock birds I saw, as well as troops of large black-faced apes* gamboling on the trees, grinning, and probably conjecturing what business I had in their territories. Both these animals are held sacred by the Hindoos. The view from this spot is remarkably grand, with abrupt and striking changes in the character of the scenery; mountains being piled on mountains in the wildest and most picturesque forms.

I forgot to observe, that a fine cascade pours down at one corner of the valley just mentioned, and that to the right of the path, at a considerable distance, a tremendous block of granite rises ma-

* Never shall I forget the wanton cruelty I once committed in the Mysore, by wounding a she-monkey, while nursing a young one in her arms: her piteous cries; touching the wound with her finger, and looking at the blood, then at her offspring; then lying down, still holding her young; then sitting upright, and trying to stanch the wound! She was soon encircled by a herd of monkeys. Long, very long, did I lament this youthful cruelty of mine. On our entrance into Guzerat we received a public order not to molest monkeys or peacocks.

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jestically from the summit of a high mountain, cleft almost in twain from its apex for 200 or 300 feet: the gap, in different views, has a very singular appearance. ' Passing on a few hundred yards, we find a tabular surface, and other signs of approaching the summit of the G'hāt, and that we have finally surmounted the pass leading to the upper country of the Deccan; but still, with a small opening to the left, we are almost encircled by mountains.

" A varied landscape stretch'd immense around."

No spot in India can be better calculated to contemplate Nature, arrayed in her wildest garb, than the top of the G'hāts, during a still moonlight night, with that beautiful starry firmament known only to eastern skies, and with a softened temperature found only in the mountainous regions of tropical climes.

" It was that hour of Eastern clime,
When Nature wakes each thought sublime;
When, softly veiled in starry dress
Of night's majestic loveliness,
She spreads along the deep blue sky,
Her half-illumed obscurity:
And scatters, 'mid her groves below,
Her insect swarm of meteor glow;
Revealing from each bough at night
A thousand winged gems of light!
The sultry winds had died away,
As fled the parting gleam of day;

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And breath of gentlest zephyrs came,
In whispering sighs to fan the flame.
It was that hour when on some tree
The *Bulbul* pour'd its melody,
And thrill'd a sweet and artless strain,—
A seeming lay of inward pain,
As if it sang the joyless fate
Of widow'd love, and absent mate.*

I shall not trust myself with the subject; for, having spent days in the G'hāts, the most tranquil and philosophical of my life, my enthusiasm might lead me astray; and, were I to moralise on the beauties of nature and the wonderful works of an all-wise and beneficent Providence, I might fall, as is too often the case, into cant and affectation, both of which I heartily detest.

It was near nine A.M. before I arrived at the village of Cundalla, situate at the top of the defile†. It was not until near three P.M. that the poor coolies arrived, dreadfully fatigued, in consequence of the labour they had undergone. I gave to each man sufficient rice, vegetables, &c. to make a good hearty meal, and for which they were very thankful. For two hours after nightfall they were singing and playing music in the most cheerful and lively manner.

The Hindoos, in all situations, are a docile,

* A Poem by Captain V. of the Bengal army.

† The Poonah government, on political grounds, always objected to our repairing or improving the pass.

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cheerful, good-tempered people: what vicious qualities they do possess are owing to the wretched and arbitrary rule under which they live. It is truly astonishing what arduous and long journeys these poor afflicted people will perform, for a few pence, in the most tempestuous seasons; swimming large and impetuous rivers, penetrating solitary and unknown routes through immense forests infested by beasts of prey and banditti, exposed to the mid-day sun, and sleeping on the ground nightly, for weeks together—their whole sustenance daily being only two or three handfuls of parched grain, and often bad water to allay their thirst; yet are these poor wretches always good-humoured, faithful to their employers, and, as husbands and fathers, an example to us.

It is not uncommon to find a labouring Hindoo supporting his wife's relatives and his own parents who are past work, with contentment and cheerfulness. It is true these people are gross idolaters, but they practise many virtues which we Christians lack the observance of. It would strike with wonder a stranger to observe a body of coolies conveying a pipe of wine, a 24-pounder, or an 80-gallon cask of beer, up the defile, at the top of which we had just arrived.

As the method of transporting so heavy and unwieldy an article as a pipe of wine, up a steep, narrow, and rugged path, may not be generally known, I will endeavour to describe it. A strong

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pole is used, to which is firmly lashed three stout slings, passing round the ends and centre of the cask. Across the long pole, which is placed lengthwise, are seven short poles, lashed on the top of the longer one. To each of these short poles are two men, who receive the end of the short pole on the back of their necks, where a large fold of cloth is placed. They move on, two and two, obliquely. When they require to relieve their shoulders, they move on, right or left, in front alternately. When the cask, or gun, is suspended, and the men walking, the cross-poles are about three inches distant and above the large one, which latter is about twenty-two inches above the article carried. They can easily rest by merely stooping and laying their load on the ground, and which is just as easily taken up again. This class of porters are called Nogunnees: those who carry loads on the head are called Bigharees. It is well known with what ease twelve (sometimes ten only) palanquin-bearers will carry a heavy palanquin, containing the precious carcass of a sleek, well-fed, heavy Christian, with his writing-desk, a basket of refreshments, and jug of water, over rivers, and mountains, and very bad roads, sometimes the distance of fourteen or fifteen miles, for a remuneration of seven pence sterling *. The regulated allowance of weight to be carried by a cooly is fifty-six pounds.

* I once travelled with my family, having four palanquins, employing fifty-six bearers at each stage: the whole journey was

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Having now said something of the Mahratta country and the Hindoo people, it only remains to offer a few brief remarks on the great range of mountains improperly called G'hāts, and to take a peep at the great excavated temple of Karli (Ekverah). This will occupy us until our arrival at the temples of Elora. In the intervening country there is nothing to gratify the philanthropist, instruct the legistator, or please the philosopher; no flourishing towns, public institutions, or learned communities; no splendid buildings, fine bridges, or beautiful gardens; nothing, in fact, to denote prosperity or happiness. Compared with the British provinces, it may be truly called one wild waste. Wherever the Mahratta comes, the land is cursed. A few mud-built huts, where the remnants of a

two hundred and seventy miles, every stage averaging about ten miles. We travelled day and night, the bearers often up to their middle in water, for the rains had not subsided. The collector had informed the native officers of the district what was required, and on my journey I experienced neither difficulty, delay, nor imposition. I knew a *gourmand* who travelled in style: one palanquin was fitted up with a larder and pantry completely stored; in the midst of which squatted his black cook, ready at all times to pursue his vocation; another palanquin conveyed his *live lumber;* the third carried himself. In this gentleman's house there were as many servants, and probably more ceremony, than at Carlton-House: Mr. ——, notwithstanding, was an excellent man, and universally beloved by natives and Europeans. I knew a family who travelled with six palanquins. The number of bearers in requisition in one district were seven hundred and ninety-two, all ready stationed.

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scattered people have horded together for mutual protection, are the only signs of civilization that these fertile plains present for one hundred and fifty miles. Worse than the locust or beast of prey, what Mahratta warfare could not utterly destroy, hordes of Bheels and Pindarries were hired and introduced into these countries to effect. But I have done with the sickening tale, afflicting to narrate, and dreadful to view.

The village at the top of the pass is small, but plentifully supplied with necessaries for native travellers. The Patel, or head man, informed me it had been burnt four times within his recollection: this was corroborated by others, for I make it a rule, if possible, never to set down any thing from the hear-say of one man. Twelve of our Siphauees, belonging to the Poona's subsidized force at that time, afforded protection and security, and to whom the villagers looked up as their guardian angels; or, to use their own words, they were "very, very glad at having them."

Near the village is a fine large sheet of water. These tanks are often expensively and strongly built, with excellent masonry. In low and flat countries, sometimes by damming up an outlet, a piece of water is preserved, covering fifty to eighty acres of land. In some places these tanks are very beautifully finished, at a great expenditure of money and labour; but the Hindoos, as with their temples, will not repair any one which is going

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to decay. No posthumous honour, say they, is derived from *repairing* the works of their predecessors. The government never heed these matters; to exact money being their leading principle, not to expend it on public works; and where property is of such uncertain tenure, the heirs feel no disposition to lay out a rupee. A wealthy, religious, or ostentatious native, will, to please the gods, and gratify his own vanity, build a handsome pagoda, or dig a magnificent tank or reservoir, which goes by his name; no one, however, is found zealous or patriotic enough to keep it in repair; and charitable bequests for the purpose are out of the question; for if these are often misapplied even in England, what must be the case under Mahomedan or Hindoo laws? The tank here is secured by a *bund* or embankment.

To persons so fond of bathing* as the Hindoos, and who repeat many of their formularies in the water, a tank is an invaluable addition to the rural economy of a village.

The chain of mountains, among which we had now encamped, extends from Cape Comorin, op-

* I sincerely wish it was more practised by the female domestics in England; they appear to have an antipathy to cold bathing; consequently there is frequently a mighty foul savour arising therefrom, as well as from the economical system of wearing black, to "hide the dirt." It is not altogether their fault, perhaps, for domestic female servants in England are over-worked, under-paid, and frequently shamefully treated.

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posite Ceylon, in one unbroken series (with the exception of an opening at Paniany in the Malabar country, of about twelve miles broad), stretching away, in a northern line, to the province of Candeish, and not far distant from Surat. In no part do they exceed fifty miles from the sea, and in one part only do they approach closer than eight miles. There are but few passes known to us; and till men of science investigate this stupendous barrier, we are likely to know but little about them. Such men as Humboldt, or Bompland, would, in these mountainous and unknown regions, find a rich harvest, in countries abounding with a vast variety of new and interesting matter, and extending for nearly 900 miles: a scientific exploration of these mountains is, in fact, a great desideratum. I do not mean the thing called in India surveying; the mere taking of bearings and distances, placing spots for mountains, and little blue serpentine lines for rivers, and the whole pretty looking map illustrated with neat penmanship! Something more is wanting; the botanical, geological, and mineralogical data, with other scientific matter, are required. Vast labour and great knowledge are requisite in giving a history of these mountains, and the country above and below them. I will take upon myself to say, that by far the greater part of what we know of India is derived originally from questionable sources, and but little, very little, from personal exertion or research. Sorry am I to say, that

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much of our knowledge of India is derived from foreigners.

The mountains of which we are now speaking decrease in altitude about thirty miles to the northward of Bombay: to the southward of Poona the passes, I am told, have a northern descent; stretching along to the southward, they separate what is generally called Malabar, supporting the Mysore and Soondah countries in the form of a terrace. With the exception of the opening at Paniany before-mentioned, and the few passes formed by the industry of man, or the action of mountain torrents, it is one connected wall for nearly nine hundred miles; this vast belt enclosing the rich country within the *Ner-Budha* river.

These mountains are said to average from 3000 to 5500 feet in height, prolific in all the wonders and beauties of nature. In the high mountains to the southward much valuable meteorological data might be obtained, for, while below (*Payeen*) it is raining in torrents for three successive months, in the Table-land above (*Bala* G'hāt) it is the fine season. Numerous rivers intersect the low country, which, during the S.W. monsoon, run with astonishing velocity; some few, that have their sources in the mountains, have the whole year a shallow stream. Of the geological or botanical character of the mountains I profess to know nothing. I have made various journeys, and have been stationed among the passes. I was then young and unob-

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serving; but in the few very humble remarks now proffered, if I point out the road to those who have talents and necessary qualifications, I shall have the satisfaction of having done some good. The following lines of Thomson are so apposite to these oriental Andes, that I hesitate not in giving them: it is a beautiful and faithful picture.

"I see the sands,
The pebbly gravel neat, the layers then
Of mingled moulds, of more retentive earths,
The gutter'd rocks, and mazy running cliffs,
That, while the stealing moisture they transmit,
Retard its motion, and forbid its waste.
Beneath the incessant weeping of these drains
I see the rocky siphons stretch'd immense,
The mighty reservoirs of harden'd chalk,
Or stiff compacted clay, capacious form'd.
O'erflowing thence, the congregated stores,
The crystal treasures of the liquid world,
Through the stirr'd sands a bubbling passage burst,
And, swelling out, around the middle steep,
Or from the bottoms of the bosom'd hills,
In pure effusion flow united thus.
The exhaling sun, the vapour-burthen'd air,
The gelid mountains, that, to rain condensed,
These vapours in continual current draw,
And send them o'er the far divided earth
In bounteous rivers to the deep again,
A social commerce hold, and firm support
The full adjusted harmony of things."

Anquetil du Perron, in his journey from Goa to Aurungabad, in 1758, mentions a pass as thirty-

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two miles S.E. of Goa: "A sept heures et demi, je me trouvai au pied des Ghattes." In a long journey I performed in 1809, on duty from Madras to Bombay, I passed over this tremendous G'hāt*. The battalion to which I was attached was upwards of seven hours passing over a distance of about nine miles: the Siphauees' knapsacks were left behind to relieve the men. Precipices and roads like these were never before travelled by any one present; and it was in the depth of the rains, which increased the difficulties of the journey. I had not seen my tent, nor heard of it for three days. I lost seven bullocks from excessive fatigue, three of which died in the G'hāt. Several camels were split up, occasioned by their fore-feet slipping forward. Our supplies were all expended, both among us and the Siphauees. In our journey we had to contend with deep clay, sharp-pointed rocks, precipitous defiles, and thick bamboo jungle, abounding with thorns and leeches—the last not a little annoyed us. These obstacles, with incessant heavy rains, great exhaustion from a long journey for days together, in passing through al-

* At the same period I passed over the Padnaig durgum pass, dividing the Carnatic from the Mysore. Great labour had been bestowed to render this G'hāt easy. The corps had excited the displeasure of the then Madras government. I am not going to recur to the unhappy subject, but merely observe, it was during, and connected with, the dissensions then existing between the native army and government.

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most impenetrable jungle, our baggage and cattle ruined (what little of either remained), and ourselves and men worn out, all added to the natural difficulties of the Tanarah G'hāt at the end of June.

Such wildernesses, such horrid-looking valleys, and execrable foot-passages, no one of the party ever before witnessed. Suffice it to say, that we marched over the pass on the 16th of June, and were obliged to halt until the 22d, when all the public stores, hospital baggage, and private property, with the exception of what was utterly destroyed in the G'hāt, had arrived; an officer and one hundred and fifty men being employed as a working party.

The corps had gone sixteen miles the following day, for the purpose of procuring supplies; I from choice, being always fond of employment, and of an active turn, remained on duty. The first two days we had nothing but a scanty supply of bad rice, and I a part of a stale shoulder of kid, in a dirty hovel, raining and blowing very hard nearly the whole of the time. A third of the cattle perished, some few did not arrive at all, and the peasants whom we had hired during the preceding journeys all deserted. On the fourth day I and my party were relieved by a Captain Swan, who remained three days in the G'hāt with his working party before the whole of the stores and baggage were passed over.

These few brief observations will afford some

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idea of the difficulty of these passes, and show how naturally strong the country within the G'hāts must be*.

Sept. 24. The previous evening I made arrangements to breakfast at the great temple of Karli, to spend the day there, and towards the evening to return to my tent, which was to be pitched at the village of Karli, about two miles and a quarter from the caves, and directly opposite to them. At daybreak, we moved on a distance of nine miles: the road is very rocky and bad for the first three miles. After descending a small steep pass, the country is more open to the left, with some little cultivation, possessing abundance of water and a rich soil. The country might, in other hands, be rendered a fertile tract all the way to the village. Considerably to the right of the road appeared two table-lands, separated by a valley: they both rise to a considerable height, and are strongly fortified—the sides scarped. The

* Having referred, in a preceding note, to Colonel Fitzclarence's observation on the G'hāts to the southward, I conceived the above notice of the Tanarah G'hāt would not be deemed superfluous. I might have borrowed much more on the same subject from my own manuscript of the Journey from Madras to Bombay, consisting of more than 350 pages, but the matter is foreign to this work. I shall, however, at some future period, venture to submit this Journal and other works to the public eye. The success my first edition has met with, and the very general commendation bestowed on my humble labours, will urge me to further exertions.

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works were garrisoned by Arab troops. The names of these fortified hills are Low Ghur and Isawara Ghur.

I proceeded across the open country to the left, to the mountain of Ekverah; where, at a considerable height above the plain, stands a large temple hewn out of the solid rock. The path by which the temple of Ekverah (Karli) is reached is very steep and difficult, winding along the face of the mountain: in fact, it is little better than a water-course, broken, rugged, and precipitous; so that the traveller is well tired before he reaches the top. When he does get to the head of the path, he is highly gratified by the view beneath of an open, rich, and beautiful country, having the mountains at a distance, and the pretty rural village of Karli, situated in a grove of mango-trees, with a large tank near it, on one side of which stands a handsome Hindoo temple.

On the left of a terrace at the end of the foot-path, excavated from the bowels of the mountain, stands, in solemn magnificence, the great arched temple of Karli, with its noble vestibule and entrance, and the sitting figure of Budha. On looking into the temple, an object of wonder presents itself: a ponderous arched roof of solid stone, supported by two rows of pillars; the capitals of each surmounted by a well-sculptured male and female figure, seated, with their arms encircling each other, on the back of elephants, crouching, as it

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were, under the weight they sustain. At the further end of the temple is an immense hemispherical altar, of stone, with a kind of wooden umbrella spreading over the top.

It is not my intention to give any detailed account of these temples; for, with the exception of the principal vaulted one, the remainder are of a very inferior size, and in a dilapidated state. I more particularly refrain from a minute account of them, as Lord Valentia has well described the entire range; and I believe descriptions of them are to be found in other modern publications. I have only to observe, that in most particulars this large temple is similar to the temple of Visvacarma, and the arched temple at Canarah on Salsette: they are all by the same founders, and dedicated to the gods of the same religion. At Karli, Budha is the paramount deity; but the Pandoos are not forgotten. The concavity of the roof is ribbed with *wooden* rafters; for what purpose I cannot even form a conjecture. It is clear to me that this temple was formerly lighted. I do not know whether it has been observed by others, that the aisle which divides the pillars from the scarped wall is dark, and towards the capitals so much, that objects are not to be distinguished. Surely the artists would not have taken the pains to sculpture on the *inner* side of the capitals of the pillars, opposite to the wall, horses and camels, kneeling: for, unless the place was well lighted, the

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figures would be invisible. There is no idol in front of the great altar, as at Elora: the umbrella covering, before spoken of, rises from a wooden pedestal out of the convexity of the altar. A Brahman, whom I questioned on the subject of the altar, exclaimed, in nearly the words of our own poet, "Him first, Him last, Him midst, Him *without end.*" In alluding to the Almighty, he nearly spoke as above described, placing his hands on this circular solid mass. He rejected all idea of assimilating Budha, or Brāhma, with the "Eternal God;" who, he said, was one alone from beginning to end, and that the *circular* altar was his emblem.

A concourse of priests and fakeers, supported by the Peishwah, lived here. One of them, an ascetic of high renown, had a singularly mild and serene countenance: he was sitting before a flame of fire day and night, with a cloth over his mouth, to prevent his inhaling pollution, or destroying any living substance*: he was regularly fed with parched grain, and his water for drinking was strained

* A Brahman at Benares was so cautious of causing the death of any living animal, that before him, as he walked, the place was swept, that he might not destroy any insect: the air was fanned as he ate, for the same purpose. Some mischievous European gave him a microscope, to look at the water he drank. On seeing the animalculæ, he threw down and broke the instrument, and vowed he would not drink water again: he kept his promise, and died.

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through a cloth. I addressed him with reverence: he turned up his fine placid countenance, and looked at me with eyes that spoke of heaven. I almost wished at the moment to be a Brāhman. This man appeared the image of self-denial, absorbed in contemplating the wonders of God. Doubtless his ideas and actions were purity itself —such was his character; for he had resisted the most tempting offers to reside at the court of the Peishwah, and nothing could withdraw him from the *arched* temple and *circular* altar of Karli. He was too much lost in mental abstraction to heed me: he never speaks; but he was evidently in prayer, as I could see by the working of the muscles of his face.

Returning from the temple, on the outside of the vestibule is a small raised terrace, where are a few huts, inhabited by the servants of the Brāhmans. Outside the court-yard, which is paved, is a brick wall and gateway, having above it a kind of gallery, or *Nobut Khana*, where they still play musical instruments. This, I believe, was built by Colonel Close, out of respect to some Brāhmans.

To show the degeneracy of the present race of Hindoos, and their indifference to the glorious works of their forefathers, it will scarcely be credited, that in this fine and wonderful temple, suspended from the pillars right across, were wet clothes hanging up to dry!

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The staircase leading to the other caves is broken down. These chambers have been wilfully and severely injured by the fanaticism, or, more likely, the revenge of the Mahomedans; probably from the opposition they met with from Sevajee, who for many years successfully contended against the Emperor Aurungzebe*. Sevajee was the prince of the country, and the founder of the Mahratta empire.

Towards the evening I descended the mountains, and proceeded across the fields to my tent, where I found my people, having done their respective duties, sitting on the banks of the tank, singing and relating tales. It is singular to me how cheerful and contented these poor people appear under their hard labour, oppression, and poverty. True, they know not, happily for themselves, the use of ardent spirits, the bane of the poor of England, and the source of one half the crime and wretched-

* He was wont, in derision, to call Sevajee the "Mountain Rat." He exclaimed, on the death of Sevajee being announced to him, with emotions of joy, "He was a great captain, and the only one who had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, whilst I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and, nevertheless, his state has been always increasing." Of Sevajee, his descendants, and the usurpation of the Peishwas (or prime ministers), who superseded the ancient line, some notices will be found, when speaking of Aurungzebe, and his city Aurungabad, on returning from Elora.

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ness we find among the lower orders. These people likewise for the most part abstain from animal food.

The dāk, or post-carrier, having passed me on the preceding day, I dropped a letter into his leathern bag, requesting a friend to send his horse on for me to Telligaum, a stage fourteen miles distant.

These dāk-men, for a small pay, go in the most inclement weather through the wildest parts, day and night, at a quick trot. In the dry season, though the distance may be 800 miles, such is their regularity, that there is seldom half an hour's difference in the time of their arrival. Should they be carried off by a tiger, or fall sick, which frequently happens, the bag is generally found and brought on by the following dāk-bearer. They stop travellers on the road, that they may have an opportunity of inspecting the bag. It is usual to direct letters or newspapers for travellers *outside* the dāk, that is, in the bag loose, but not in the packet. Not a word is exchanged; you may take what packets you please, and on trots the poor solitary fellow with his flambeau and dirk, at midnight, through a wilderness, the horrors of which would appal many a stout English heart. In the rainy season it is a dreadful employ. A bag, thus open and exposed, would not go quite so safely in England. I am compelled, from the nature of my work, to condense many remarks and incidents,

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that would possibly be acceptable to the English reader if given more at full.

A recent instance of the rapidity of the dāk is from a Calcutta paper of last March. I must observe, the distance from Calcutta to Madras is 1114 miles.

"We have again to record a wonderful rapidity in the transmission of the dāk. An express arrived from Madras, since our last notice on this subject, in the extraordinary short period of ten days and one hour; being five hours less than ever before known.

"An express from Chittagong also arrived on the 11th instant, in the short period of three days, seven hours, and three-quarters; having to navigate the Megna from Tipperah to Dour. The distance is three hundred and forty-nine miles, which at four miles per hour, gives three days, fifteen and a half hours; being again of seven hours and a quarter on the above."

Telligaum is nineteen miles from Karli: this distance, although considerable in India, I purposed, with the aid of the relief-horse, performing in one day. It was not to be expected that my servants and baggage could proceed at an equal rate; but that was of little moment, as I was certain of a cordial reception from several friends at Poona. Instructions were left with my people not to delay their journey, so as to detain me beyond two days at the capital.

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At daylight I pursued my journey to Telligaum, *viâ* Vargaum; the road for the first part lying over a fine rich soil, but little cultivated. A few miles on, the country opens more in an eastern direction, and bears a moorland appearance, with a few easy rises at intervals. On our right is an extensive range of hills, that stretch away to the eastward as far as the eye can reach. For the purpose of avoiding some heavy broken ground, we ascended a hill, over which is a pass called the Brinjarry G'hāt; this in the rains is the common route of all travellers, for the low country is marshy and impassable. At Vargaum, the British, under the auspices of Ragobah, were led on in 1778, to proceed to Poona to prove the illegitimacy of the then Peishwa. The army was directed in those days by civil commissioners; they met with a signal defeat, retreated, and magnanimously left poor Ragobah to shift for himself.

At eight A. M. I arrived at Telligaum, which has been a considerable town; it still has a good market. Near the town is a fine tank of considerable size, well stocked with fish; and close by is a room built for the accommodation of travellers. It was at this spot, during the late war, that the two brothers (Vaughans) were barbarously murdered in cold blood by a body of Mahratta troops, at the instigation of Trimbuckjee. At Telligaum * a sheep might be purchased for about *2s. 2d.*

* It is as well to observe that *Gaum* signifies a town; *Pour*,

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Having placed one of my pistols in my sash, I had filled the vacant holster with a few biscuits and some cold fowl; this, with some fresh milk, afforded a good breakfast.

My friend's horse having arrived from Poona, in the afternoon I proceeded on my journey; it was still very hot. To repel the heat of the sun and the intense glare, which causes the country to assume an appearance not unlike the undulating motion of the waves in calm weather at sea*, a broad leaf of the plantain put inside the hat and over the eyes, affords an agreeable coolness, and a protection to the sight. Our route lay through a fine open country, but from the causes already assigned, very little of it was in a state of cultivation. After ten miles, I crossed a fine clear nullah of excellent water, to which I and my horse did not fail to pay our devoirs. What would I have given at that moment for a measure of common table-beer! Now that I have an *abundance* of that *delightful* beverage, its value lessens, and I sometimes cast retrospective thoughts on the cheap and excellent Madeiras of India; on that fine country, and on the many estimable friends and comforts I left behind. On the banks of the nullah is a commodious large bungalow, built purposely for the accommodation of sporting parties.

a place or situation; *Nuggur*, a fort; *Abad*, a city; *Nagur*, a garden; *Nullah*, a stream; *Nuddee*, a river; *Koond*, a cistern.

* This singular appearance is, I believe, what the French term *mirage*.

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I now passed by the village of Cheechour, known far and wide as the abode of a living deity, whose successive generations have for many years received divine worship.

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CHAPTER V.

Arrival at Poona—Its appearance towards evening—British cantonments—Anecdotes of the Peishwa—Subsidiary force—Religious toleration at Poona—Mahratta villages—Bhema river—Arrival at Seroor—Description—Ahmed-Nuggur—Brahman and Mahrattas—Toka—Shakpoor—Village of Elora—Splendid tank—Brāhmans and Brāhmanees bathing.

THE roads leading into the city of Poona are in good repair. One route proceeds by the British residency at the Sangam*; the other by a good substantial stone bridge over the Moota river. It was near sunset as I entered Poona; the setting rays of that glorious orb reflecting its beams on the venerable roof of the Parbutti temple, on turreted walls, large white terraced houses, lofty shining spires, and on handsome-looking pagodas, intermingled with Moghul buildings, Hindoo palaces, castles, and gardens, afforded, on a serene evening, an imposing sight to a stranger; while a fine river running in front of the city added an interesting feature to the view. This was not lessened upon entering a crowded city, where the objects were as varied in appearance as the external view

* Sangam.—It is here that the Moota and Moola rivers form a junction, from thence called Sangam. All great religious ceremonies, whether Mussulman or Hindoo, are performed at this part of the river.

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had been half a mile off, and consisted of large heavy houses, built of stone, more for defence than comfort; many of them painted with representations of peacocks, figures of Ganesa* and Hanuman. Shops of all descriptions were seen, having open fronts, with the goods exposed on an inclined platform: the streets narrow, and thronged with people; among whom might be discovered the sedate, decently-clad Brahman; the delicate and pretty-featured Hindoo female; the portly, dignified, and handsomely-dressed Mussulman; Arab horsemen completely armed, prancing along upon their fine chargers; Fakeers in a state of nudity; Mahratta foot-soldiers, with sword and buckler; and groups of people from other countries in their various costumes, and with peculiar casts of countenance. In this diversified moving mass we must not forget a few Jews and Portuguese Christians, and occasionally a British Siphauee in his neat undress, on leave of absence for a few hours. This living picture has the addition of state elephants, splendid cavalcades of public officers, decked out with parade and show, accompanied by richly-caparisoned led horses, and

* Ganesa, Gunnees, or Gunputty, is a favourite idol with the Mahrattas. I have heard that a former Peishwa had one, the old silver of which sold for 11,000*l.* The idol captured from the late Peishwa Bajee Row was valued as prize property at 50,000*l.* sterling; it was of solid gold, and had eyes of diamonds: it was his constant attendant.

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camels trotting along at a quick pace, with rows of little tinkling bells suspended round their necks. If to all this we add crowded markets, religious processions, and bands of noisy musicians, some idea may be formed of the tumult and bustle of the capital city of the Mahratta empire towards evening.

The approach to the British cantonments, nearly two miles beyond the city, is very fine. The country is open, and adorned with a rich variety of cultivation, and some fine large gardens and plantations. I met with a hearty reception from my respected friend (an old shipmate on a voyage to Penang and China, in 1804) Captain Staunton, who afterwards so highly distinguished himself as the hero of Corygaum, in repulsing with his single corps the united efforts of the Peishwa's army. At the hospitable mansion of Captain S. I forgot the fatigues of the day, and rejoiced to be so far on my way to Elora. I purposed making little stay here; just sufficient to procure fresh coolies and cattle, and to relieve my guard of Siphauees. When that arrangement was made, I proposed, with the assistance of a relay of one horse, to proceed directly to our military frontier station at Seroor (Goa Nuddee), distance forty-three miles, and to perform the whole distance in one day.

The force stationed at Poona consisted of two native battalions, the remainder of the subsidized force having their head-quarters at Seroor. His

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highness Sri Mant (Bajee Rao Pundit Purdhaun Behauder), in December, 1802, entered into a treaty to pay the British 300,000*l.* sterling annually, for the co-operation of one regiment of native cavalry, five battalions of native infantry, a park of artillery, stores, and other *materiel* of an army, to be paid for in lands assigned over in Guzerat, and territories south of it; twenty per cent. in the value of the lands being deducted on account of decrease or loss in the revenue. The Peishwa*, or rather his minister (Ragonaut Rao), kept the Deccan entire, nor would he allow any of the passes to be improved, or the forts to be occupied by us. Bajee Rao was a weak and superstitious man, by descent a Brahman, but not of a high order. I am led to believe, not from reading, but from personal inquiry, that had Bajee Rao not lived in turbulent times, and been surrounded by bad ministers, he would not naturally have inclined to a vicious and cruel system. He had bitterly tasted the cup of adversity and misfortune, but it did not teach him prudence. The force he obtained from the British was a protection against his powerful and natural enemies, Holkar, Scindiah, the Guickvar, and the Bonsolo

* The word signifies *foremost*, or prime or chief minister, the predecessors of Bajee Rao having usurped the authority of the descendants of the celebrated Sevajee, who were kept in honourable imprisonment at Satorah, whence all orders and power was supposed to emanate to the delegated Peishwa, who was *de facto* the prince of the country. *Satorah* signifies a star.

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(Nagpore Rajah): against these princes he was secure and safe, the powerful prince of a large fertile country, his capital situated on the banks of a large river, and commanding the high-road from Hindoostan to the sea-coast, and the large cities and towns to the westward and northward; it being the only outlet from the interior for commercial pursuits to all the low country.

The city of Poona, under a more enlightened and liberal-minded prince, would have become one of the first cities in India. Bajee Rao had been a fugitive, stripped of his territories, and in want. Holkar had threatened to put out his eyes or starve him to death; but from religious feelings, and his being a Brahman, did not wish to kill him outright. He was not, however, to be taught prudence or gratitude; but must head the Mahratta conspiracy, in the late war, against the British, which ended in his overthrow and ruin. He is now in honourable captivity, with a pension of 100,000*l.* yearly. Had he fallen into any other hands than the British, his life would have paid the forfeit of his baseness and treachery. Three instances which I witnessed will speak of his actions: I believe they are not known in England; their insertion therefore will not be thought irrelevant.

During the time I resided at Poona the Peishwa's prayers for an heir were granted. On this occasion Brahmans and Fakeers were invited to Poona from all parts to offer up sacrifices at the temple of

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Phabutti; and 60,000 people were fed daily, at the following rate per man: one pound of rice, half a pound of dholl *, and a quarter of a pound of ghee. These were the principal articles of food: vegetables and milk were added in unlimited quantities as luxuries to the banquet. The illuminations and musicians included, the expense of this festival was officially estimated at 72,000*l.* sterling, besides various gifts presented by rich and loyal courtiers to holy and celebrated devotees. On a former occasion, on a religious festival in 1797, the Peishwa expended 60,000*l.*

The second instance I allude to was the circumstance of some British officers walking, by permission, in the gardens in the neighbourhood of the cantonments, when, without the smallest provocation, they were first insulted, and then severely beaten, by a set of sycophants and ruffians belonging to the Poona court. Among the assailed was my old and esteemed friend, when in Guzerat, Captain Pedler †. A complaint was made by the

* Dried split peas. *Ghee*, a kind of clarified butter, the produce of buffaloes' milk.

† This officer, by his personal bravery, great enterprise, and military knowledge, raised himself, unaided by interest, to the command of 2000 reformed horse in the service of the Nagpore Rajah. He was once left wounded in a desultory attack on the Pindarries, and one of these men, though a robber by profession, saved his life, and is now his military attendant; one instance out of one hundred that I could show to prove that the natives

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British authorities, and redress was promised; when, shocking to relate, and unknown to us, eight or nine victims were selected, either of low caste or felons, and trampled to death by elephants being driven over them as they lay fastened on the ground with cords. The real perpetrators escaped with impunity, for the Poona government could not or would not punish them.

The last instance will show the superstition of his highness. He intended having a palace built under the direction of a British engineer officer: it was to cost 150,000*l.* The iron rail-work was contracted for, the ground was marked out and consecrated by being profusely plastered with cow-dung, and some of the stones for the edifice had actually arrived, when, in a conclave of Brahmans, an English-built palace was objected to; the reason urged being that their gods could not reside in it. To effectually carry their point, it was firmly asserted that the English meant to sacrifice some children, and bury their bones under the foundation of the principal pillars *. This was believed by the

are demoralized from the vicious government under which they live, and not from their own natural dispositions and qualities, which, when attended to, are good.

* There is an anecdote of a Mussulman of rank and affluence, who, having had a room particularly embellished, found that the English brush, with which the paint had been laid on, was made of hogs' bristles; consequently, in his eyes, it was impure: and this so incensed the pious *Mooslim*, that he had the building razed to the ground.

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Peishwa; and several children having been made to disappear by the wily and interested Brahmans, a loud outcry was raised against us by the people, and the palace scheme was at once given up by the fanatical and timid Peishwa.

Poona, as a military station, was always considered an eligible change of quarters by the officers of the army. The country around the cantonments consists of fine open extensive plains, abounding with game. The markets are well regulated and furnished, and, for the most part, supplies are very cheap. Beef on no account was to be procured: it was sometimes eaten by stealth, brought in at much expense and risk from Seroor. "Stolen joys are sweet:" but two or three poor wretches having been detected in bringing the forbidden meat by the police, they were most inhumanly beaten, and one or two were said to have been strangled as a punishment.

The officers at this station, as well as at Seroor, have an increase of pay, called *batta*, or field allowances (deducted from the subsidy paid by the Peishwa), in the following proportions to each rank:

	Rupees.		Rupees.
Lieutenant-Colonel	363¾	Lieutenant . .	73¾
Major	300¾	Ensign	59¾
Captain	89½	Surgeon . . .	89½

An assistant-surgeon the same as a lieutenant, and the native Siphauees two rupees and a half, for the

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month of thirty days. To this pecuniary advantage, I may add the salubrity of the climate, the short distance from Bombay, the sports of the field, and last, but not least, the hospitalities of the British residency at the Sangam. No one ever quitted its walls without regret, or entered them without pleasure. The urbanity and the unaffected manners of one of the wisest and most polished men and accomplished scholars that India has to boast of (the late resident Mr. Elphinstone), made every one happy and agreeable, whether in the person of a peer or a young unfledged ensign: truly he was the joy and delight of the Deccan.

Notwithstanding all the absurd cry at home against the fanaticism and bigotry of the Brahmanical character, the Portuguese Christians had a chapel in the centre of Poona; nor were the Mahomedans less favoured; for at the annual festival of the Taābout, in commemoration of the martyrdom of Hussein and Hassan *, the Peishwa, in great state, with all his public officers, attended, with every symptom of good will and respect, and even public salutes were fired on the occasion. I have seen the Mahomedans pay respect to the Hindoo processions, and worship and join in the prayers and shouts of the multitude with decorum and friendship! In two religions so very opposite, and among a people so very dissimilar in every

* Sons of Ali, husband of Fatima, the daughter of the prophet Mahomet.

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respect, such a reconciliation and respect for each other appear as strange as commendable: a sister island might with advantage take a lesson from these zealots and fanatics.

Having just spoken of the pay of officers at this station, it reminds me of the public treasury, and of the bankers' shops. These latter are so dissimilar to any establishment of the kind in England, that a few words will not be misplaced. These shops, in which large sums are deposited and much business transacted, are often little more than open sheds; the floors of the house mud, and plastered with cows' dung, the counter an inclined terrace, reaching from the front half across the shop, on which, squatted cross-legged, among bags of money of all kinds and value, sits the little Mahratta Brahman, with his placid and handsome countenance, and the piercing eye of a hawk, talking to his customers, discounting bills, and counting off money with a rapidity and precision that would astonish the most practised beef-eating veteran of Lombard-street. Often the whole charge of paying orders, money-changing, and receiving deposits, is left to the sole management of a boy of eleven or twelve years of age.

In their disbursements and receipts, they have none of those aids known to their European brethren,—in books, where interest, days, and other data are nicely calculated, to assist them in their financial operations. The youthful cashier has

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nothing but his clear head and nimble fingers to assist him, and no people in the world have a clearer or quicker intellect than the vegetable-eating and water-drinking Brahmans.

To describe the unerring rapidity with which they count large sums of money, and detect not only any that are bad, but positively, merely by the *touch*, discover a rupee that may be of a different currency from the mass, though otherwise in shape and weight nearly the same as the others, would surpass belief.

In these shops, that which has most surprised me is the accuracy and quickness with which these "banking urchins" will discount a hoondee (an order), to be paid in, probably, different currencies, with the interest, per centage, odd days and *hours*, calculated to the lowest possible fraction. All this is performed by the boy whilst he is attending to other matters; his only account-*book* is a flat board, covered with a fine sand, on which he makes his calculations. When finished he blows the sand smooth again, and that reckoning and statement which would take a banker's clerk a sheet of paper and an hour of time to arrange, the little half-naked Indian banker performs in a couple of minutes. To think of imposing upon them by any means is ridiculous; to deceive them utterly impossible.

If we take into consideration the vast variety of gold, silver, and copper coins met with in

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India, the almost constant variation in the rate of exchange, the very distant and extensive dealings of these native bankers, whose wealth and respectability is equally great, it will excite some surprise to find that their dealings are honest, and their business conducted with a promptitude and regularity that might be an example to the *first* houses in England.

If this is the interior management of the "concern," the exterior appearance of these bankers' shops would not less surprise a stranger. At night, in a crowded city, the front is left open, and the hoards of money are seen by the glare thrown by two lights suspended from the ceiling, just sufficient to make "darkness visible:" the mouths of the bags containing the coin lies temptingly open; in the midst sits the boy, waiting the receipt of custom. A shop thus left in charge of a youth, the whole front of it open, with upwards of a thousand pounds in hard coin exposed to view and within reach, would not remain long, even were the shop situated next door to Sir Richard Birnie's police-office.

The bankers' cheques are not the least singular of the affairs of the establishment; they are about the same size as those used in England, written on a thick country-made paper: the writing is from left to right; they have some particular mark known only to each other, which renders forgery impracticable: when written they are folded up in a roll, and are about the size, or a little longer,

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than a man's little finger. They are fastened by gum-water or paste, and thus lacs of rupees are circulated with celerity and security from one end of India to the other. In troublesome times, they are given in charge to a man, who is well paid for the hazard and danger he runs: he proceeds on, day and night, through unfrequented parts and the wildest districts, to avoid the hostile parties who may be moving about. If he escape the enemy and wild beasts, he is sure to arrive at his destination. The order is secreted in the tube of his pipe, or folded up and *greased* into a head of false hair: various modes of deception are practised to avoid discovery. I have paid as high as 20*l.* to a *cossid* (courier), whose ordinary fee would have been about twenty shillings. It was a political note, and the danger he ran was very great. Had he been detected, he would have met with a cruel death. I cannot well tell the reader where the note was placed, but must leave it to his ingenuity to find out.

The bankers are improperly called Shrof, but Siraff is the proper word: their names usually terminate with a *dass*, signifying a slave; thus we have Luximandass, *i. e.* the slave of Luximan, Mhahdoodass, the slave of Mhah Doo; for, being rich men, I suppose they fancy they have a right to assume high sounding names.

My baggage and people arrived the following day. My relief in cattle and men being prepared, on the succeeding morning I pursued my journey

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to Seroor, distant forty-three miles, by the villages of Lonee, Corygaum, and Shikarpoor; the country nearly the whole distance a barren and depopulated waste, consisting of extensive open plains; the few wretched hamlets, that are occasionally seen, presenting to the eye of the traveller fallen mud walls, surrounded for defence with prickly pear and milk-bush plants; the few inhabitants equally wretched in appearance with their abodes. The walls of these hovels are made of earth, kneaded with water, but so imperfectly tempered that they cannot resist the rain: unlike the mud forts of India, where the material is mixed with chopped straw, and, at the proper point of humidity, well beaten together with large wooden rammers; so firm, indeed, as to deaden and often resist the force of a shot: but on this road, in the frequent and perilous periods of Mahratta warfare, they were built one day and abandoned the next. In short, most of these huts are nothing more than a few hurdles stuck in the ground, and the interstices filled up with mud.

The happiness of a peasant may generally be estimated by the appearance of his dwelling or his apparel: here the cottages are not only of the most wretched kind, but the few miserable inhabitants were nearly naked. It will hardly be believed that this was in a time of profound peace, under a civilized government, and in a country abounding with the blessings and riches of nature; but such

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have been the desolating effects of former wars and rebellions, that, every two or three miles of the route, ruined villages or tottering walls marked the ground, where the work of murder and rapine had been complete. These distressing sights are common nearly the whole way to Elora; so that this observation on the state of the country will suffice as a general remark throughout.

At Corygaum, crossed the Bhema river in basket boats; these are made of split bamboos formed like wicker-work, of a circular form, and flat-bottomed, covered with tanned hides; they are moved on by means of long poles, one man on each side alternately impelling the boat by fixing the end of the pole in the bed of the river. In the fine season, or when the waters are neither turbulent nor high, they are safe and convenient enough, and will hold two or three bullocks and half-a-dozen natives with ease; but in the rainy season, contending with a furious stream, running at a rate of seven or eight miles per hour, the passage of these rivers is effected with great difficulty and much risk; nor is the whirling round of the boat, occasioned by its circular shape, when in the eddies, at all agreeable, particularly to ladies unaccustomed to the *luxuries* of Indian travelling*.

* I subsequently crossed this river with my corps, going on service, in the rains. My family, under particular circumstances, accompanied me. It rained in torrents and blew hard. We got over the river about nine o'clock in the morning; my tent,

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Having, in the latter part of my book, given a *sea* adventure, we will in this place give a *land* one. "Perils by flood and field," if authentic, must be interesting; and I will take upon myself to say, that in the part of the country where the present incident occurred, but few British officers (not half-a-dozen) had ever travelled,—and none with their family, as was my case.

In the wildest parts of the lately explored country, denominated Chootis Ghur, situated in that large tract of country lying between the northern Circars and the kingdom of Berar, I was proceeding on sick-leave, accompanied by my wife and four children, to the sea coast*. I cannot, perhaps, better describe these depopulated and extensive wilds than by stating, that during one part of my route, for a distance of 32 miles, we did not see a hut or a human creature. I was accompanied by a strong escort; for the country was not in a very settled state, and parties of *Goands* and others were roving about in different directions. We had encamped, for the day, on the

baggage, &c. at eight at night; the greater part wet through, and some few articles quite spoiled. We were in tents for seven weeks during the rains after that period, watching the motions of the Mahratta feudatory chief Appa Napunkah. This was in 1812.

* The journey was upwards of 600 miles; this, in the hottest season, in wild countries, with a large family, was no trifling undertaking.

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verge of an immense jungle, consisting of but few trees, and a very high and thick grass, which extended as far as the eye could reach. At this place there were the remains of a tank, which contained very bad water*, owing to the season being so far advanced; for the period was the hottest month of the year (May), and the month which precedes the *periodical* rains. We had pitched our tents; the horses of the guard were picketed, and we were as comfortable as people could be in this scene of wildness and desolation,

* It has often surprised me, that among the vast number of public works undertaken by the Government, and the large sums expended, that their attention has not been drawn to the very beneficial work of repairing tanks; which, being already excavated by pious and liberal natives, might be restored to their original state at very little expense and trouble. In a hot country, like India, where nothing is to be got on the road, good, or at least drinkable, water is of the first consideration; and when we know how fond the natives are of ablutions, and there being for the greater part of the year no running streams, it becomes our duty to look to these tanks. It was always an object with the native princes, not only digging these tanks, but keeping them in repair. From my own observations, I am convinced, that often the sickness and poverty of a village or town, and the scanty population, is owing, either to the bad water or to the insufficiency of that necessary article. If the Government will make me "Surveyor-General of Tanks," I promise every foot I excavate shall be equivalent to 1000 rupees in value; not merely to their increased revenue, but, what is of more importance, to the happiness and health of their mild and deserving native subjects.

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and although the thermometer, at half-past two, stood at 110, and our people had almost poisonous water to drink, yet, surrounded by wild beasts, with not a soul but ourselves within probably 20 miles of us, we were still comfortable; and my followers were sitting round my encampment, smoking, telling tales, and singing, quite happy; and thus the day passed. We had moonlight nights; and, to avoid the excessive heat, we always marched at about two or three in the morning.

Knowing that the jungle near us abounded in wild beasts, the cattle were picketed in a circle, and fires were kept burning. About one in the morning, I was alarmed by an outcry among my people, and in a minute or two the horses, camels, and bullocks had broken loose; the former had drawn their pickets; all was uproar and confusion. In an instant, almost with the rapidity of lightning, bellowing and tearing up the ground, a herd of wild buffaloes passed within a few yards, closely pursued by tigers; we saw them both very plainly, as they flew along the open spot, and the grass bent before them as they pursued their frightened and impetuous career. My people, with fire, shouts, and muskets, turned their course a little, and we apprehended no danger; but the mischief of the scene was occasioned by the troop-horses, who had scented the tigers, and instantly became unmanageable. From being stallions, and exceedingly vicious, they com-

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menced fighting, kicking, and destroying every thing in their way. My sleeping tent was soon brought to the ground, and under it lay my family, with a chance of being trodden to death: in a moment a palanquin was levelled with the ground, and the sides stove in; another of the "war-steeds" had got among the bottles and cooking pots,—which presented a sad spectacle to those who had no chance of supplies during the remainder of the journey. Such a scene, at such an hour, and in such a horrid wilderness, I never witnessed: my people, with the poles belonging to the luggage tents, thwacked away at the horses' heads with might and main; but even that was dangerous, for as their *heel-ropes* still adhered to their fetlocks, they dragged every thing before them. A Siphauee, who was very anxious to get the children out from their dangerous covering, got a bamboo, and hit a horse over the head a mighty blow; but in an instant was brought to the ground by the long heel-rope catching him: he exclaimed, with great anger, "*shitan ki-gora;*" "a very devil of a horse," and was so exasperated that he tried to shoot him. I only regret he did not, for this very beast maimed another so as to render him unfit to proceed on the journey. After a great deal of trouble and much personal risk, we got them secured; but were obliged to leave two behind, who were wounded. Some of my baggage was useless, and four bullocks were

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lamed. It was not till near five that we got away, and our route of fourteen miles lay, by a narrow foot-path, through this primitive jungle, the grass of which (called the elephant species) was not less than nine feet high. At the first commencement of the *row*, my people, for security's sake, had fired the grass, which, from its dry and inflammable state, burnt with inconceivable fury and blaze, and, aided by its columns of smoke and flakes of fire, gave a lurid feature to the jungle scene at midnight, in the wilds of Chootis Ghur.

There are on the Poona road two convenient and neat lodges, built by subscription, for the accommodation of travellers, and for the residence of sporting parties, who come from Poona and Seroor, sometimes for a week or ten days together. The neighbouring plains are plentifully stocked with antelopes, wild-hogs, hares, and partridges. Tigers are sometimes found; but wolves, jackals, and foxes are constantly met with. Hog-hunting, however, was the principal sport followed. These lodges are at Lonee, eight miles from Poona, and at Shikarpoor (place of hunting), twenty miles from Seroor.

I arrived at a little after twelve o'clock at the station of Seroor; this, considering the bad roads and the heat of the forenoon, was a hard ride. At Seroor I met with the usual kind reception from my respected friend Lieutenant Rankin; but I had scarcely seated myself when a polite invitation reached me from Major Burr. My time was short

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and I promised to divide it between both. Major B. is, alas! now no more; but his admirable defence of the lines at Poona, with a handful of Siphauees, under very trying and disadvantageous circumstances, against 16,000 of the late Peishwa's best troops, will for ever live in the recollection of his countrymen.

Seroor is a remarkably agreeable station. The cantonment was laid out in regular streets, consisting of handsome, commodious houses, having only a ground floor, with detached out-offices; the whole within an area, surrounded by fine thick hedges of the milk-bush, and prickly pear plants. Good gardens were attached to most of the houses. There was also a good theatre for amateur performances, a large tennis-court, cricket-club, the well-known *Bristles* (a club of hog-hunters), three or four billiard tables, and a variety of other amusements. At a later period, when I was stationed there, the society had to boast of thirteen ladies. The house I then lived in, with a large garden, I purchased for about ninety pounds sterling: of course there were no taxes of any kind, and it was as convenient as a house which costs sixty pounds per annum in England.

At Seroor I had to relieve my guard, and procure fresh coolies and cattle. I likewise bought a camel for about eight pounds sterling, as I intended to make long marches during the remainder of my journey to Elora. On the morning after my

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arrival, my people came in from Poona, and, with my relief, I proceeded on in the evening to Caroosa, eleven miles and two furlongs, intending to arrive, with the blessing of Providence, at the town of Ahmed-Nuggur, twenty-three miles farther on my route, on the following day.

There is not a single object to interest the traveller during the thirty-four miles of the journey: there is abundance, however, to awaken pity for the few poor wretched inhabitants, and to excite execration against their ruthless oppressors.

The villages are defended by mud walls, and at Ranjungaum there were two large iron-bound gates, defended by large iron spikes driven through the planks. In the neighbourhood were some patches of sugar-cane, and the ground appeared well adapted to the culture of that plant. On my asking the head-man (Patel) why they did not increase the growth, as they were now secure, by the vicinity of the British force, from a foreign invasion, he replied, "True—but it is all alike, as the Peishwa is as rapacious as his officers, and literally leaves us nothing; they are all thieves together!" These were his words, and every mile of country showed convincing proofs of the nefarious and arbitrary measures of the native government.

On my arrival at Ahmed-Nuggur, I was greeted

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in the kindest manner by the officers* composing the detachment, who had breakfast prepared for me, with the most earnest wish that I would prolong my stay for two or three days, as much was to be seen and explored in that large and renowned fortress, so often the seat of war and intrigue. This agreeable task I, however, deferred until my return; and it is hoped that the account of Ahmed-Nuggur, given in the pages following the description of Elora, will be found accurate and interesting.

Having spent my time during the short period of my stay in the most agreeable manner, among my hospitable friends, on the day after my arrival I again moved on by the Nimbedura G'hāt to Wamborey, nineteen miles. I was cautioned to keep my Siphauees and baggage close at hand, as the G'hāt was infested by Bheels†. Some few I saw, but they did not offer to molest me, and I passed by quite unconcerned.

There is another road to the low country, to the left of this pass, which is practicable for guns and carts: it has been made by our pioneers. I believe Sir A. Wellesley approached Ahmed-

* Captains De Lamotte, Edwards, and Vance; Lieutenants Smith and Edsall, and Dr. Hall.

† As occasions will occur hereafter of mentioning the Bheels, and other distinct and numerous hordes of banditti that are found in various parts of India, I now forbear going into any detail.

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Nuggur by the gun road: the foot-path I pursued was steep and rugged, and impassable to wheel-carriages. The country at the foot of the pass is a fine cultivated tract; this the natives accounted for, partly by the neighbourhood of our troops, and the proprietor of the village and lands being a Brahman, who kept in his pay thirty-five Arab soldiers. These men, being under his own immediate inspection, neither did mischief themselves, nor permitted the incursions of robbers.

The village is pleasantly situated on the banks of a gravelly nullah, in a charming spot. The Brahman sent me a polite message by a fine-looking Arab, offering me any service in his power. The Arab spoke in the highest terms of our troops, and of the British officers: he added, that the Mahrattas were the worst people upon earth. In going away he could not resist the opportunity of requesting some physic. I had been so accustomed to supplications for medicine, that I always carried a stock with me, chiefly of calomel pills: these often procured me a fowl, or an extra cooly, &c. &c. when entreaty and money failed; and if, to my medical donation to any person of consequence, was added a black lead pencil, I was overloaded with civilities. No argument will persuade a native in the interior but that an officer is not only a skilful doctor, but a learned man.

In the evening, the Brahman paid me a visit of ceremony. He was a pleasing, well-informed

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man, and complained bitterly of both the Peishwa and Scindiah, to whose exactions, and the robberies practised by their officers, there was no end. He had met with the interposition of the British at the Poona court, for some services his family had rendered, and to which he owed his present prosperity. He said the country was very fertile, but the peasants were afraid to cultivate the soil beyond the shot of an arrow. Justice was never to be obtained, and those who attempted to get it were sure to be visited with injury or ruin. The British, he said, gave justice to all, and respected the country which they travelled through as conquerors; and he exclaimed, with much animation, they even pay for what they get!! The lands in the vicinity, part belonged to Scindiah, and part to the Peishwa, whose officers were always quarrelling: whichever party were victorious, the poor peasant was sure to suffer. This, and much more, he discussed in a tone of angry feeling. The substance of his complaints was, however, but too true, and may be verified at every village in the Mahratta country.

The thermometer this day was at ninety-seven in the shade. The herdsmen, attending some flocks of goats, were all armed, and boys not exceeding eleven years of age had a bow, and a few loose arrows sharply barbed, lying on the ground, while pursuing their labours in the fields. The Bheels in the neighbourhood, the Brahman informed me,

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were not only tolerated by the Mahratta courts, but often employed by them, and to whom, for permission to pursue their avocation of plundering, they paid a regular tribute.

The following day I pursued my journey to Chin-Choora, 19 miles—crossed several small streams, and passed by a very handsome square tank, built of stone, having four flights of good steps, reaching to the water. Several small temples, dedicated to Māhā Deo, were on the paved walks which surround the tank. Passed by the wretched hamlet of Kurkoondy, whose decayed and fallen walls tell at once of the poverty and desolation with which it has been afflicted. The sites of several ruined villages also were seen to-day; and mounds of fallen walls showed, that where once peace had dwelt, was now become the abode of the fox and wolf. Some few half-starved peasants whom I met, with inward dread of the human form, fled at my approach like the stricken deer. In parts of the journey, where hollows or fissures occurred, the soil appeared for several feet to be of the richest kinds of earth; yet the few people seen were starving, and literally naked.

Sitting under the shade of a large tree, near a ruined village, were some men armed with long lances, each with a bow and quiver full of arrows, sharply pointed, with large barbs. I spoke to them, but they offered me no annoyance. They said they were "thieves, and were the friends of

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the Company's ally, the Peishwa*." I did not much like the appearance of these fellows, but thought it as well to put a good face on the matter. Of these banditti I shall speak more at large by and by, having had two or three rencontres with them. The village of Chin-Choora (abode of thieves) is an assemblage of a few wretched hovels. I met with no molestation or insult, and my baggage arrived safe. I did not at night mount a sentry, as I had hired two Bheels for protection against the depredations of their brethren. This is a usual practice, and when attended to, you are perfectly secure.

The next day I proceeded on my route to Toka 15 miles: the landscape for the whole distance one wild barren waste. On the right-hand side of the

* At these times, the dangerous state of the road beyond Nuggur prevented, to my certain knowledge, many persons proceeding to Elora. Many gentlemen have visited Elora; but they have been with a military force in the neighbourhood, or have come from some of the adjoining provinces *beyond* Elora. I never knew any one go alone and direct from Bombay, as I did, and for which I was very much censured by several. Sir James Mackintosh went; but he had an European officer and a large detachment of troops, and the native courts were apprised of his journey. It was probably the state of the country which prevented Major Moor, and Mrs. Graham, who were at Poona, from proceeding to Elora: as, undoubtedly, from being engaged in literary works on India, they would otherwise not have neglected so celebrated a place as Elora, or the city of Aurungabad, and fort of Dowlutabad.

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road were some quarries containing a close-grained blue stone: it had been worked but little, but the strata appeared to extend to a considerable distance. The country is not deficient in wood;—many streams intersect the land;—the soil is very rich;—and in the neighbourhood is a large river. With all these local advantages, except in the immediate vicinity of Toka, the country is a perfect desert, the residence of wild beasts and thieves.

Toka is a neat, clean, little town, containing some good stone houses: it is situated on the left bank of that noble stream the Gangā Godavery (Tyndis of the ancients), a stream which fertilises so much of the Deccan, rising 90 miles N. E. of Bombay, taking in an immense sweep of country, and discharging itself at Rajah-Mundry. At Toka are stationed 100 of our native troops, under an European officer. To the presence of this force Toka owes its security, and to the river partly its prosperity. From the officer commanding this force I met with all possible kindness, and I needed it; for, shortly after my arrival, I was seized with a severe fever, brought on not so much by fatigue and exposure to the sun, as by exploring the vaults and aqueducts, containing damp and foul air, at Ahmed-Nuggur. Be that as it may, I had recourse to my usual remedy, calomel pills, the most valuable and generally useful medicine in the whole Materia Medica: a *quantum suff.* of this, viz. 9 grains, soon brought down the fever. At

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night a strong and hot glass of brandy and water, well seasoned with aloes and other spices, and one half grain of black pepper, promoted a copious perspiration; and "Nature's best nurse," a sound sleep, ensued. Although a little debilitated in the morning, no remains of the fever were left. The most sedulous attention was paid me by my kind and new friend, Lieutenant Edginton, who advised me to remain a week, in case of relapse. This, however, I declined, knowing well the natural strength of my constitution, and being anxious to arrive at the grand object of my fatiguing journey, the temples of Elora, distant from Toka only 33 miles.

For months together, a British officer of native troops must, when on detachment with his men, not only be his own doctor, but perform the functions of linguist, paymaster, commissary, clerk—in short, be a kind of *factotum*. This proves how necessary it is that a Company's officer should go out young, and be well educated; which, I am glad to say, is the case in the present day. A popular and impartial Review (the Universal) has the following observations;—"Nor do we mean any disrespect to one part of a highly honoured profession, when we express an opinion, that the qualities just mentioned are more frequent and more prominent in the British officers of the Company's native regiments, than in those of any other military body in the world. This is doubt-

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less owing to local circumstances, to which a brief allusion will not be misplaced. The difference is obvious, between the young ensign, who ordinarily passes his noviciate in a depôt at home, and the cadet, who, at the age of 17 or 18, is withdrawn from the countenance and support of his friends, and who is liable to be called upon, immediately after his landing in a foreign country, to exercise, in a situation of considerable trust, the prudential qualities of command, more difficult to practise at that age than courage, generosity, and enterprise. Need we make the remark, that such a situation is calculated to extend the circle of the young officer's faculties, and to make him display mental resources, which, under other circumstances, might for ever have remained dormant? But that which appears to be the principal cause of the distinctive character of the Company's officers, is the practice of spreading a native regiment in small detachments over a considerable district."

My friend Lieutenant E. and his people were quartered in a large, strong-built house, with a terraced roof, standing high, and commanding a good piece of ground. Against a body of native troops it could make a good stand; and, as a situation, is very eligible for an out-post, as it overlooks the principal ford of the river, and is placed on the high road. Near this building is a spacious Durrumsalla, for the accommodation of

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travellers. Part of the galleries of the building are covered in. This public edifice, like the Choultries * on the southern side of the peninsula, is very serviceable to the native traveller, whether in the dry or wet season.

Near this spot is a very handsome Hindoo pagoda, built of stone, and in shape not unlike the one in front of Indra's temple at Elora.

In front of the town is a fine long flight of stone steps, descending to the water's edge. I here relieved my guard, much to the disappointment of the men I had brought on from Nuggur; but such were the orders. The Siphauees at Toka contended for the pleasure of accompanying me, from the delight they should experience in visiting the temples. Lieutenant E. would have gone on, but could not quit his out-post. I gave my people extra pay (batta) on account of the long marches they had lately made; for the usual distance is 12 miles per day.

I set out on the third day after my arrival to Shahpoor (or Place of Kings); which, notwithstanding its sounding name, was a miserable little hamlet. After crossing the Godavery in a large unwieldy boat, a short distance on, the country is over-run with a thick jungle, in which numerous hordes of Bheels find a secure retreat, levying a certain sum on each passenger, and on his cattle;

* Corresponding with the Saraĕ of the Moguls.

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and, if he has the temerity to resist, he is sure to be maltreated. During the journey, I could not have seen less than 150 of them in different parties. Several accosted me; but having three Siphauees with me, their muskets loaded, and myself armed, they offered no interruption to us: but my servant, who had preceded me, rather than have an altercation, had paid a tribute of 4 rupees (10*s.*), greatly in opposition to the wishes of the Siphauees, who objected to any compromise with the Bheels.

After getting through the jungle, which extends for some miles, the country becomes hilly, with a range extending from north to east. Dowlutabad is seen bearing N. E. distant about 14 miles. Shahpoor is 16 miles from Toka: it consists of about thirty miserable huts—the inhabitants diseased, half-naked, and poor in the extreme.

At day-break I pursued my journey to Elora, 18 miles distant, the country becoming more open, and a little cultivation occasionally to be seen. Game appeared to be plentiful—several hares and partridges being seen during my route. Passed by a Mussulman village, called Cassāb Khānāh (Place of Slaughter): it contained a few good houses, and was defended by a substantial stone wall. It was garrisoned by a party of Arabs, some of whom were sitting over the gateway. The protection this guard afforded accounted for the unusual sight of cultivated lands, for a distance of nearly a mile from the village.

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The road is somewhat of an ascent: during the latter part it was agreeably shaded by trees, planted by a pious Hindoo when Elora was a more frequented spot than it is now. This road appears to have had some labour bestowed on it: those through which I had before travelled were mere ways, formed by the feet of cattle or men passing over them; in which state they are left, and on the following rains are generally impassable for three months, till the heat of the sun has dried up the water, and hardened the soil.

It was not without emotion I entered the pretty little rural village of Elora, embosomed in a grove of trees; inhabited by Brahmans; and, on account of the holiness of the spot, the troops stationed here were Rajpoots. The whole district then belonged to the Mahratta prince Holkar, whose mother was a munificent patroness to the Brahmans and devotees living in the neighbourhood. It was excessively hot; and as I could not expect my baggage for three or four hours, I sought shelter in a pagoda—a handsome building of stone, about 18 feet square. The roof, which projects over a platform that surrounds the building, is supported by massive pillars of stone, richly carved. The pagoda is evidently a copy of the small temple in the area of Indra. Probably the materials with which it is built were some of the excavated pieces hewn out of the tank.

The pagoda where I had taken my seat stands

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in a beautifully romantic spot. Near this pagoda is a tank, the masonry of which, for beauty and uniformity, I never saw equalled. It must have been a work of immense labour, and would be deemed a fine ornament to the grounds of the most costly mansion in England.

Although dreadfully fatigued with my hot and long ride, and only a meagre breakfast of two or three dusty biscuits and some bad milk, I determined upon surveying the tank. I always carried a surveyor's measuring-tape with me during the journeys I made in India; and they have not been few, nor short ones. This splendid tank is a square of 151 feet, which gradually lessens on going down the flight of steps, of which there are five on each side of the square. Each flight is terminated by a pavement or platform, whence commences the succeeding series of steps:

	Feet square.	No. of steps.	Breadth of pavement.
Upper, or first pavement .	151	14	13 feet.
Second ditto	142	7	7 do.
Third ditto	103	7	4 do.
Fourth ditto	91	7	4 do.
Fifth ditto	70	3	4 do.

At this last number of steps was the water; but the steps I could still see for some distance lower down. I was informed they extended many feet below the surface of the water, until the square became very contracted. The upper pavement of

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the tank is encompassed by a stone wall, three feet in height. The stone employed in forming this beautiful tank is of a gray, blueish colour. On the fourth pavement are built eight light and airy temples, of a square figure, open at the sides, the domes supported by four carved pillars: one is placed at each angle, one again half way between the extremities, and opposite to each other. They contain a Ling, pointing to the N. W. On the third pavement grows a large tree at each angle, enclosed by a small stone wall. The view of the tank from the last flight of steps is very fine, and I observed Brāhmans and Brāhmanees promiscuously bathing, nearly in a state of nature. The retirement of the place, and the beauty of the country, added much to the effect. Such lovely spots are rarely met with.

About 1 P. M. my people arrived, and I hurried them on to Elora, distant about a mile; for, although both tired and hungry, I could not resist proceeding on at once to the glorious scene which awaited me at the eternal temples and houses in the mountain. No inducement could have prevailed on me to stop another half-hour.

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CHAPTER VI.

Entrance to the Temple of Keylas—Observations thereon—Mythological Figures—Balcony, Bridges, and Great Hall—Fabled Heroes, and the Pandoo Family.

BRUCE's emotions were not more vivid or tumultuous on first beholding the springs of the Nile, than mine were on reaching the temples of Elora. I at once rushed into the wonders and glories of these immortal works; but it is totally impossible to describe the feelings of admiration and awe excited in the mind upon first beholding these stupendous excavations.

On a close approach to the temples, the eye and imagination are bewildered with the variety of interesting objects that present themselves on every side. The feelings are interested to a degree of awe, wonder, and delight, that at first is painful, and it is a long time before they become sufficiently sobered and calm to contemplate with any attention the surrounding wonders. The death-like stillness of the place, the solitude of the adjoining plains, the romantic beauty of the country, and the mountain itself, perforated in every part, all tend to impress the mind of the stranger with feelings quite new, and far different from

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those felt in viewing magnificent edifices amidst the busy haunts of man. Every thing here invites the mind to contemplation, and every surrounding object reminds it of a remote period, and a mighty people, who were in a state of high civilization, whilst the natives of our own land were barbarians, living in woods and wilds.

How many ideas rush into the mind of an inquisitive and thoughtful man at the moment I am now describing! How much delightful narrative might a more able pen than mine give utterance to on the occasion! I will, however (though lacking the glowing descriptive power of some of our modern writers), put the first view in plain language to the reader's imagination.

Conceive the burst of surprise at suddenly coming upon a stupendous temple, within a large open court, hewn out of the solid rock, with all its parts perfect and beautiful, standing proudly alone upon its native bed, and detached from the neighbouring mountain by a spacious area all round, nearly 250 feet deep, and 150 feet broad: this unrivalled fane rearing its rocky head to a height of nearly 100 feet—its length about 145 feet, by 62 broad—having well-formed door-ways, windows, staircases to its upper floor, containing fine large rooms of a smooth and polished surface, regularly divided by rows of pillars: the whole bulk of this immense block of isolated excavation being upwards of 500 feet in circumference, and, extraor-

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dinary as it may appear, having beyond its areas three handsome figure galleries, or virandas, supported by regular pillars, with compartments hewn out of the boundary scarp, containing 42 curious gigantic figures of the Hindoo mythology—the whole three galleries in continuity, enclosing the areas, and occupying the almost incredible space of nearly 420 feet of excavated rock; being, upon the average, about 13 feet 2 inches broad all round, and in height 14 feet and a half; while, positively, *above* these again are excavated fine large rooms. Within the court, and opposite these galleries, or virandas, stands Keylas the Proud, wonderfully towering in hoary majesty—a mighty fabric of rock, surpassed by no relic of antiquity in the known world.

This brief outline will impart to the reader some idea of the wonders of Elora: and if these temples do not excite in the mind emotions of astonishment and delight, I have quite misunderstood my own feelings. To build the Pantheon, the Parthenon at Athens, St. Peter's at Rome, our own St. Paul's, or a Fonthill Abbey, is a task of science and labour; but we understand *how* it is done, how it proceeds, and how it is finished: but to conceive for a moment a body of men, however numerous, with a spirit however invincible, and resources however great, attack a solid mountain of rock, in most parts 100 feet high, and excavating, by the slow process of the *chisel*, a temple like

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the one I have faintly described, with its galleries, or Pantheon—its vast area, and indescribable mass of sculpture and carving in endless profusion—the work appears beyond belief, and the mind is bewildered in amazement.

I think the caverned temples of Elora * far surpass, in labour, design, &c. any of the ancient buildings that have impressed our minds with admiration; nor do I think they yield the palm of superiority to any thing we are told of in Egypt; but that is a point I leave to better judges, antiquaries, and critics. My task is faithfully to record what I have seen; and if any burst of admiration escape me at the recital, it is but a momentary acknowledgment of what my feelings were at the time of surveying these stupendous caves. It is but a temporary interruption at the worst, and, should the reader participate in my sensations, it is none at all.

As we have been making some comparisons, the introduction of a copy of a printed account of Fonthill Abbey from a respectable evening paper of last August may not be irrelevant. "The building itself is indeed the first in the kingdom. The architect who conceived, and the proprietor

* It must be recollected that Keylas is but one out of about a dozen that are hewn out of this mountain. A range of distinct habitations and temples extend along the line, to the right and left, for more than a mile and a quarter, in a direction nearly north and south.

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who consented to execute so extensive a design, must have had a mind of great comprehension, great imagination, and great vigour." Now, what would this gentleman's sentiments be were he suddenly placed among the glories of Elora? Thoughts and reflections would be suggested to his mind that the human language is incapable of giving utterance to. He would imagine himself in a land of enchantment, and placed among works that were not the offspring of human hands. Sir Walter Scott, with all his fine talents of description, would feel at a loss here; and the writers in the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, accustomed as they are to discuss all kinds of subjects, ancient and modern, would here feel some little difficulty: how then shall I describe with any degree of accuracy, and convey to the mind with any success, a faithful representation of these magnificent works, complex, grand, and varied as all the component parts are? It is, indeed, a task of no little difficulty and exertion. I have the impression on my mind as vividly now before me as when first viewing these glorious works of antiquity; but to transmit any thing like an adequate description of their beauty and grandeur is totally impracticable. I will at once, in as intelligible language as I am capable of, or as the difficult subject will admit, place the great temple called Keylas, or Paradise, before the reader's eyes.

The accompanying *Plan* is a mere sketch, to

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give a faint idea of this extraordinary structure, standing insulated from the mountain, as before mentioned. At the first view it strikes the beholder with a delight and wonder that are indescribable; for, whether we consider its vast dimensions, its fine state of preservation, the hardness of the material from which it is excavated, or the perfect way in which it is finished, the mind is so absolutely lost in admiration, and so transfixed, as it were, on the mighty work before it, that one feels incapable of going into a minute detail. It is long, very long, indeed, before the mind assumes a tone sufficiently calm to be enabled to behold this wonder attentively, much less to minutely describe it.

We will now *endeavour* to proceed methodically in a description of Keylas; and it is trusted, with the aid of the plate as an illustration, an intelligible view of it will be afforded. After passing through a handsome gateway, (A) having small apartments above, and placed immediately over the gate, is a balcony. You enter the area at the front, or western face. Here are a variety of sculptured figures and ornaments in high relief; the goddess Bhavani * on the right, and Ganesa

* It appears more preferable than interrupting the narrative at its commencement, to give a general summary of the Hindoo gods and their consorts in a distinct page: or, at all events, to speak of the same personages but once, although they may have a different name, or be differently represented by the sculptor.

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on the left. Here the whole area appears hewn out to make room for the grand temple; while various figures are represented, particularly Bhavani, sitting on a lotos (*kumala*), and two elephants with their trunks entwined. On either side, under a ledge of rock that serves as a bridge for communicating with the great temple and the rooms over the entrance, are two elephants, in a mutilated state (c c), and but partially seen, from the accumulation of earth. Under this bridge is a communication between the areas. A few feet beyond these are two large obelisks (D D), standing and facing the northern and southern windows of the square room, from which they are but a few feet distant. They are of a quadrangular form, eleven feet square, prettily and variously carved, and are estimated at forty-one feet high: the shaft above the pedestal is seven feet two inches, being larger at the base than Cleopatra's Needle in Egypt.

These obelisks alone would excite interest, were there no other objects of curiosity near: here they are merely an ornament to the front area. Originally the representation of some animal has been placed on their top, most probably a lion *, at least so many attendants supposed. We had much dif-

* This animal frequently occurs, although it is not an object of Brahminical veneration. The lion is sacred with the Chinese and we find them at Carli—likewise at Ava in the temples of Godma Budha.

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ficulty in ascertaining the height of these obelisks; but I believe, within a few inches either way, their altitude is correct.

There are at this spot some ranges of apartments on each side, richly ornamented with sculptured figures, in all the variety that the most superstitious people on the face of the earth, with the most incomprehensible and absurd mythology, can be supposed to have given birth to: for here are seen, in all forms and bearings, large and small figures in combat, animals and devices profusely adorning the sides of the grand temple, and the walls between that and the small range that communicates with the outer small rooms (B).

The principal personages sculptured here are Raj Booj, with attendants and emblems, and Rama and Ravan in dreadful combat *. We will not stop at this place to enter into the exploits, attributes, and powers of the infinite variety of Hindoo deities and heroes. At all times it is an interminable subject, and one of those that, after the deepest research and closest investigation, produces neither amusement nor information, being monstrous lies and fabled imposture from beginning to end, as I know by the experience of many a weary and ill-spent day of study. Where it is necessary, however, to elucidate our subject, reference will be

* The conflict was respecting the supposed frailty of Sita, wife of Rama, who was forcibly carried off to Ceylon, and afterwards rescued by Hanuman.

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made to their pantheon; at other times it would be only exhausting the reader's patience, and wasting my own time on points, "flat, stale, and unprofitable." It is not the history of the sculptured figures that we are chiefly to admire, but the labour, skill, and patience displayed by the artificers of the caves in executing their almost super-human task. It is here I wish to interest and fix attention.

In the battle between Rama and Ravan the monkey Hanuman plays a principal part. Near this spot is a colossal figure of Guttur Dass with his ten hands. After passing under another small ledge or bridge, which connects the small square room above (marked B) with the porch of the large temple, an ascent of four fine steps leads to the large hall and smaller temples excavated out of the large block, and which have their foundation still in their native solid bed of rock: nor can we omit noticing, before ascending to the apartments above, the ingenious and singular fancy of the architect in portraying the half-projecting and half-buried forms, at nearly equal distances, of elephants, lions *, and other animals, as if upholding from the basement the mighty structure that

* Some of these are mutilated, said to be done by Aurungzebe. "The ancient statues of the gods having been destroyed by the Mussulmans, except a few which were concealed, during the various persecutions of these unmerciful zealots."—*Captain F. Wilford.*

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raises its walls and roof above. They are represented as if crouching under the enormous weight they *seemingly* sustain, affording an idea that the vast superincumbent rock could be moved by their means. The lower part of these animals is yet unchiseled, unshapen in the original native bed; otherwise they are an integral part, by being undetached from the mountain. This idea is both grand and simple at the same time. Various other figures in cars, and groupes in compartments, partly sunk in the rock, are also seen filling up the intervals.

A few feet from the base, a projection of rock extends as an abutment, as we sometimes see outside, above the foundation, on the ground-floor of modern-built houses. Formerly a small ledge or bridge (as before mentioned at the entrance) allowed a passage into the apartments in the adjoining mountain across the area. This means of ingress and egress to other apartments (cut in the side mountain) has now fallen down, and is scattered over the area. My people had no knowledge of the event; but some devotees, who will be hereafter mentioned, and who resided in the caves, gave vague accounts of the accident. We have now pretty well passed the gateway, and arrived at the foot of the staircase leading to the porch of the great temple, which will be understood by the engraving.

We must pause now for a moment, to consider

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whether we will go up-stairs or take a walk round the great temple. I use this homely style of expressing myself in order that I may be better understood; for works of this magnitude, beauty, and antiquity, require no extraneous aid to set them off: in short, their value requires little or no figurative embellishment. Our object will be better explained, and our researches better conducted, by ascending the stairs to the body of the temple at once, rather than by crossing the court to the galleries or piazzas: the latter, from the pantheon it contains, requires a particular and distinct notice; and in continuing the surveying of Keylas itself our account remains unbroken.

On the eastern and southern sides of the great temple are two flights of stairs winding inwards half-way up, thirty-six in number (E E). These bring you to the portico*, whence to the small rooms over the gateway there is a passage, by means of the bridge already mentioned, twenty-one feet by twenty-three feet six inches broad, that connects the great hall and the outer small rooms.

* On the top of this portico are the remains of a lion; and, in the inside, two figures of sphinxes. This is a curious circumstance, and the only place where I saw them represented in the whole range of temples: the serpent, the bull, and the turtle are common enough. In the temples of Boodh at Ava, representations of sphinxes are found—a corroboration that a *flat* roof temple may belong to Budha. I believe Sir S. Raffles found something like the sphinx at Java.

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By three steps we enter into a separate room, sixteen feet six inches square, in which is a figure of the bull Nundi, as seen in the plate, having two doorways and two windows; exactly opposite which are placed, in the court below, the two obelisks or pillars mentioned in a preceding page.

Descending by seven steps to a centre room, is the second or centre bridge, immediately adjoining the gateway, where are rooms, one on each side, twenty-two feet by fifteen feet. The height of the gateway is fourteen feet two inches. Over it is a kind of balcony, fourteen feet by ten inches, not unlike those seen in modern buildings, where the *nobut* (a very large drum) and pipes are sounded at stated hours. The passage of the gateway is forty-two feet six inches, and the height fourteen feet six inches above the level of the surrounding area. The bridge spoken of as leading to the apartments over the gateway, and the intermediate room, which communicates with the great temple, are passages of rock, twenty feet by eighteen feet four inches, with a parapet of three feet six inches, excavated for the purposes of access to the gateway or front entrance, from which there is a fine view of the plain and surrounding country, with the village of Elora at a distance. The whole range of caves standing upon a considerable eminence, having a gentle acclivity, upwards of half a mile from the plain, the view at this part includes a fine sweep of country, and

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from the upper floors of the *other* temple is really very picturesque.

Re-crossing the two passages, and passing the rooms just mentioned by the second bridge, we again enter the portico by three steps. It is open, and supported by two pillars, having two pilasters joining it to the temple. The height of it is seventeen feet four inches, and, with its parapet wall, is eighteen feet four inches by fifteen feet three inches. It gives the entrance of the great cave a noble appearance, is very conveniently placed, and affords a very comfortable lounge, there being a bench or rocky couch, smoothed off, four feet high, and three feet and a half broad. Here, viewing the wonders around you, the piazza below, with its deified inhabitants, the court, and the various apartments, the mind may enjoy for hours a rich feast of delight, while the body reclines on one of these massy stone ottomans. I have at times, in the deep solitude of this place, not a voice or sound disturbing me, found myself, as it were, in another world, the sole tenant and master of these retreats, the former inhabitants of which have for ever fled, leaving behind them these stupendous relics of their ingenuity and perseverance —a glorious memento of a superior race to the present, and of happier periods than the modern age.

Nothing can be more romantic and interesting than the view down the great hall, or into the large rooms, excavated in the northern and southern

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sides of the mountain facing you; or, if you wish to quit this gloomy grandeur, only cross the bridges through the small rooms, to the balcony over the gateway, and there is the open country, with beautiful nature robed in all the luxuriance and richness of oriental verdure.

At the time these astonishing works were begun, the country, far and wide, must have enjoyed a profound peace; its resources too must have been great to have permitted such vast undertakings; and the people happy and contented who could, for purposes of religion, labour unremittingly for a series of years, in the completion of these temples. It is, indeed, not unreasonable to conclude they had their origin before the followers of Mahomet ravaged and disturbed the tranquillity of India, then inhabited by a race purely Hindoo; long, probably, antecedent to the invasion by Alexander or Seleucus. However, we will for the present forego a discussion on this very interesting subject*, as a better opportunity will hereafter occur.

We will now resume our investigation of the interior of the great temple. The portico, of which we have been speaking, is of a fine polish, proportionately finished; the roof has been originally *chunamed*, or stuccoed, and painted. Few palaces can boast of a larger or finer portico than this, and

* Arian and Strabo may be consulted as well as the Bhagavāt.

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not one of *similar materials;* and yet it is, comparatively speaking, but a very inferior part of this grand structure. On ascending four steps (1) we enter the great hall of the temple. Here a magnificent scene presents itself, that for some seconds rivets the beholder to the spot; massive and elegantly sculptured pillars, placed in equi-distant ranges, supporting a well-cut and smooth roof of solid rock,

"By its own weight made steadfast and immoveable;"

having their bases in the primitive bed of rock, which forms the floor of the room, equally well wrought with the other parts, and having a much finer polish; every part faithfully and accurately finished, and all cut into this form out of its native granite. These are the objects that arrest the ravished sight.

To give an additional grandeur to the scene, the entrance is guarded by two gigantic figures, Chûbdars*, which are placed in high relief near the door; the height of the door, or entrance, is twelve feet, and the breadth exactly half of the length. From this door to the farther or eastern end of the great temple, which is the extreme length of the hall, and where the floor is considerably raised, having

* Literally, "keepers of silence:" they are usually stationed as a kind of guard or door-keepers, in state apartments, to preserve order and silence, as the criers are in courts of justice in England; they have usually a club or a chouree in their hands.

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smaller temples (marked G and H,) the depth is one hundred and four feet; beyond that, and including the platform, the total is one hundred and forty-three feet, and the breadth sixty-one feet six inches, not including two balconies which project outside the great hall, and overlook the courts and piazza below. I have called them balconies, but porticoes or galleries would, perhaps, be a fitter designation; they are thirty-five feet by fifteen feet two inches, and have seats of rock similar to the outer portico.

At the entrance, the canopy, or roof of rock, is upheld by two pillars, resting on elephants, and two figures ornament the entrance as we approach from the great hall. Originally from the balcony on the right hand side there has been a (K) bridge of rock, that afforded a passage across the area to the neighbouring mountain, (in the same way that an island might be joined to a neighbouring shore, by means of a bridge); for the extraordinary artificers of these habitations, as before related, have excavated several fine rooms in the opposite mountain, on each side, not on the back or eastern face, but only on the northern and southern sides, that immediately face the side porticoes of the large temple. This curious set of apartments is directly over the piazzas, where the deities (with the exception of the back one) are sculptured, to which, in short, they are an upper story. It has been mentioned that the bridge has fallen to the ground,

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the natives say many years ago. The fallen mass, with its fragments, occupies some space in the area.

The grand hall of Keylas, of which we have been speaking, is, perhaps, too low for its dimensions. Taken by itself, without its adjoining porticoes, it has that appearance; the ceiling is only seventeen feet ten inches. In our details we have wandered from this principal apartment; but it is impossible, in describing the intricate measurements of these singular and numerous excavations, to avoid occasionally diverging right or left to some object that has a relation to the part upon which we have fixed our attention. It is difficult to be clearly understood even with the most accurate measurements, and if we wish to give a perspicuous and distinct illustration, much patience and inquiry is absolutely required in the research. Being neither architect, statuary, nor mason, I find insuperable obstacles in my way; however, as I cannot command success, I must endeavour by assiduity and inquiry to deserve it.

The whole of this noble hall is divided by four ranges of square pillars, leaving aisles or passages, as represented in the plate. In the centre of the hall the intermission of an entire row leaves a larger passage; the space where the range is wanting is fourteen feet broad, as the rows of pillars are placed nearly uniform; the sections, either across, or down the length of the room, are correctly preserved:

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each row consists of four pillars, the circumference of which, at the shaft, is eleven feet; the four centre ones have a capital, not unlike a well-stuffed, round cushion, pressed heavily down, with the outer edge fluted and full, as if forced out by a heavy weight, resting on its capital; this may be an uncouth simile, but it approaches nearer to it than any thing else to which it can be likened. The others are divested of an ornamented architrave, or capital.

The rock above is excavated a few inches thick, in imitation of beams supporting the roof, and resting on the heads of the pillars, and crossing their capitals at right angles: it is, I conjecture, merely a fanciful imitation of rafters, as they could not afford any security to the enormous weight of rock roof above; but the imitation conveys a meaning of what the artificers thought when working here. In the centre of the ceiling are carved a male and two females; the inner row of pillars, or those nearest to the walls, have, opposite to them, pilasters adorning the sides of the hall, and likewise four beautiful figures of females, whose heads reach to the cornice, nearly twelve feet high. The figures sculptured here of these idols are of some little importance in the endless catalogue of Hindoo mythology; we will, therefore, honour them by a short notice, particularly as this is a fit opportunity to introduce this subject; for it is to these mysterious and mighty per-

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sonages that the temples originally owed their birth. Respect for these worthies requires that we should not pass them by in total silence; and as we have a whole pantheon of them below, looking from their compartments into the three areas that encompass this insulated excavation, we must not any longer defer, *en passant*, taking a glimpse of those that occupy and adorn by their presence the great hall which we are now sitting in and exploring.

Believe me, I shall be as brief in my recollections of these deities or heroes, as is consistent with illustrating our work; for much precious time have I, in the zeal and enthusiasm of my youth, wasted on Hindoo mythology, and legendary lore, and at last rose up as satisfied, and about as much instructed in the early period of Hindoo history, as at my commencement. Truly, with the greatest application on the spot, and with native assistants, it is an endless and unprofitable task: I literally, from intense study, assuming the dress of a native, living on a vegetable diet, with pure water for my beverage, was almost mythologically mad, for upwards of a year; so that I have a feeling regard, from my own experience, in not afflicting my reader with any lengthened accounts of those once mighty personages, who will shortly pass in review before us, rank and file. Were I simply to state that there are figures, emblems, &c. without slightly alluding to their history, attributes, or power, my narrative

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would be deemed vague, and myself exceedingly negligent.

The principal figures, in point of rank, in the great hall, are easily recognized. Lakshmi; (the wife of Vishnu, a god of the Hindoo triad;) she presides over marriages and prosperity. My Brahman called the next figure represented Raj Janekas, a famous hero of old, who had the good fortune to be succoured by the goddess *Sita*, when an infant, being found in a box in a field. Another is the figure of Gutturdass; but some of the Brahmans, who were present at the time, called him Raj Booj.—These are larger than life, and are well executed. The two warlike brothers, Pundoo and Couroo, are displayed here; their feats are fully described in the holy war in the Mhāhbārit* (or Mahabarat), and fully detailed in the epic poem of that name. As their deeds of prowess are truly miraculous, and as the five brothers will more than once appear in exploring the temples here, I shall offer no apology for at once introducing them to notice, more especially as the Hindoos, high and low, learned and unlearned, of ancient and modern times, attribute the whole of the temples, both here and at Karli, to the labours of the Pandoos—that they were constructed by them by means of

* Maha, or Mhah, is *great*. This is an epic poem, of high renown in India, written by Vyasa; it is allegorical, and much admired, and was written about 1390 years before Christ.

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the heavenly influence and the supernatural powers they possessed.

FABULOUS HISTORY OF ELORA, OR YEROOLA.

DHRUTARASS, a blind and holy man, much favoured by Brāhma, had a son called Couroo, and a brother named Pundoo, or Pandoo: it was so ordered, that the uncle and nephew were to govern the world; but it happened they could not settle about their respective sovereignties. They were ordered, by a vision, to settle the dispute by playing a certain game of hazard; and Pandoo, the uncle of Couroo, lost it. To hide his misfortune, and to obliterate from his mind all ideas of his former power and greatness, he vowed to retreat from the face of mankind, accompanied by his wife Contee. After travelling a great distance, they came to this part of India: the retirement of the place was congenial to their heavy sorrows, and here they fixed themselves. In the course of a few years they begat five sons; these were Yudishteer, Bheem or Bhima, Urjoon or Urzuna, Nacool, and Seyhuder. From a pious motive, and to please the god Crishna, they commenced excavating caverns for religious purposes; and, that the undertaking might appear miraculous and wonderful to mankind, they entreated the god for a night that might last one year, which request was granted. Bheem, the second son, was the principal assistant,

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he being amazingly strong, and eating the enormous quantity of one candy and a half of meat during the day (900lbs.). When the five brothers had finished their excavations, day broke forth; the brothers were then despatched to propagate the wonder; and millions of people flocked from the farthest parts to behold the mighty and favoured family of the Pandoos. Their father, Pundoo, was removed from this world to a better, for his piety; the sanctity of the brothers, and their supposed influence with the Deity, brought over boundless countries and dominion to their sway: in a short period of time they had seven millions of warriors and fighting men; while others were daily flocking to their standard. They then determined to wage war against their relation Couroo, who, from the length, mildness, and virtues of his reign, was universally beloved by his subjects. Even those that had deserted, and had gone over to the five brothers, from a mistaken notion of their being deified heroes, by the great wonders of the cavern being produced in one night, seceded, and joined Couroo, who called together his faithful followers, and found that his fighting men exceeded eleven millions, eager to repel aggression; but the event of the conflict was disastrous to Couroo, for the brothers had found favour with Crishna (Vishnu), as they had performed great and holy works. So much were they favoured, that Crishna stood before Urzoon

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while he mounted his charger, and bade him not fear the hosts of Couroo. Thus were the caves of Elora excavated: Visvacarma being the architect employed by the Pandoos.

I do not recollect ever having read any prose version of the foregoing fable: had I, it would not have been inserted here. My only reason in so doing is, that the foregoing fable, concerning the divine origin of the caves, is implicitly believed by the Brāhmans. In fact, I would not make this assertion regarding the belief of the Hindoos, were it not so universally received. In various parts of India I found the same notions prevail, with Brāhmans, or holy men, Pandits, or learned men, and with various denominations of Fakeers, or devotees*; and inquiries in distant parts enable me to say that the belief is general. As the family of the Pandoos (five holy brothers) will occasionally fall under our notice, the relation gone into will not be thought superfluous, more particularly as the story has been discussed as briefly as possible.

A poetical picture of the holy family is thus translated, taken from the Mahabarat, an epic

* From the circumstance of having served under the three presidencies, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—an event very unusual—and having travelled a great deal in the countries under the respective governments, better opportunity has fallen to my lot than happens to most military men, although they may be much older and higher in the service than myself.

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poem before alluded to. M. Somerat dates the extinction of the Pandoos 1739 of the Kăl-Yoog, or Iron Age. Mr. Bentley places Yudishteer in the year of the world 2825; at which period, probably, he may have reigned, devoid of the power ascribed to him by the fictions and superstitions of the early writers. Were we to enter into this remote period by any thing like a critical analysis, the task would be interminable; and, after the most arduous research, we should come to no just conclusion, or such as we could rely on as sufficiently plausible to fix chronological data. The life and exploits of Yudishteer are in the Mahabarat*.

"When Pandus' chiefs with Curos fought,
And each the throne imperial sought,
Five brothers of the regal line
Blazed high with qualities divine:
The first a prince without his peer,
Just, pious, liberal Yudishteer;
Then Arjoon, to the base a rod,
A hero favour'd by a god;
Bhema, like mountain-leopard strong,
Unrivall'd in the embattled throng;
Behold Nacool, fired by noble shame
To emulate fraternal fame;
Seyhuder, flush'd with manly grace,
Bright virtue dawning in his face."

* Bharata was the ancient name of the whole of India, and so named from a prince who flourished at this period of history—about 2004 years before Christ.

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Quitting the great hall where these figures are sculptured by an ascent (11) of five steps, at the further end is a room where is placed the *Lingham* of Mhah Deo (Siva), the presiding deity of the temple. This symbol, which is placed in the centre of the *sanctum sanctorum*, is a stone of cylindrical shape, bedaubed with red ochre and sweet-scented oil, and strewed with odoriferous flowers. The worship of this stone, with the ceremonies observed, need not be detailed; they are of an impure kind. It is an emblem of the generative power. As it is found in temples in every part of India, I thought it deserving of some notice, and have represented it in the plate. The bull Nundi is generally placed opposite to it, as an emblem of justice, and of prolific power; but in this temple they are placed in separate rooms. The following observation of an oriental writer, whose name has escaped my memory, sufficiently elucidates the subject to preclude the necessity of my going further into the disgusting detail:

"It seems never to have entered the heads of the Indian legislator and people, that any thing natural could be grossly obscene."

The recess or room in which is the Lingham, or Phallus, has an open gallery round it, which communicates with five smaller temples, having pyramidal roofs, standing on a raised floor, or platform. Three are elaborately carved with figures

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of idols, and two small ones, on the side of the platform, are devoid of all images. Those rooms terminating the platform at the further or eastern end have probably been dormitories, or places of retirement for the priests. Such was the opinion of my Brahman, and the casual visitors, devotees and others, who occasionally accompanied me in my perambulations. The length from this spot to the entrance at the hall is 148 feet. The whole of these rooms have pyramidal roofs, which have been originally stuccoed and painted. In the papers of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, it is said that the "smoky blackness" which now defaces the roofs is attributed to the emperor Aurungzebe, who caused them to be filled with straw, and set on fire: but of this subject more in another place. The cause, in my opinion, may be otherwise accounted for.

The degraded priests of the present day are barbarians compared with their forefathers. With their usual indifference and apathy, they now make fires in the temples to cook their victuals with; and they perform pilgrimages here without intent or veneration, making them mere matters of curiosity and ceremony. On their arrival, their first care is to fill their bellies, go through a few prostrations and ridiculous ceremonies, and then stretch themselves out to sleep until they get hungry again. No man is more ignorant, bigoted,

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and indolent than the Hindoo fakeer*; which is the general name, although it applies to mendicants, and holy men of the Mahomedan religion. Three of these small apartments are profusely and richly adorned with sculptured figures of the Hindoo mythology: some of them of very obscene delineation—a thing but too common in the writings and conversation of the Hindoos.

* P'huckeer, faquir, or fakeers, are a kind of anchorets—of which more in the proper place. With the Mahomedans they are itinerant mendicants—too wise to undergo the severe penances of their Hindoo brethren.

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CHAPTER VII.

Arrangement for residing in Keylas—Treaty with the Devotees —Sphinx—Night Scene at Keylas—Researches—General Description of the basement Story—Great Lanca—Galleries of the Gods and Goddesses.

October 9, 1810, 3 P. M. Hall of the great temple of Keylas.—The researches of yesterday having closed up stairs, and my luggage and tent having been brought nearer, it became necessary to think about my arrangements for future days. My tent was pitched and my horse picqueted nearly in front of Keylas, in a fine open spot—a necessary precaution in India, on account of reptiles or beasts of prey; but I purposed residing entirely in the great hall of Keylas. A numerous body of Brahmans, devotees, and anchorets, were here on casual visits. Many of the former had allowances or stipends from the mother of the Mahratta chief Holkar, in whose territories these wonders were situated, and at that period were much frequented.

A number of armed men were in the neighbouring village of Elora, or Yerula. I knew, while I conciliated these people, and treated them with some degree of respect, having a guard of Siphauees and a very intelligent Brāhman in my service, I

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had not much to fear in the shape of annoyance or insult; but the religious party made many and great objections to a permanent residence in Keylas: however, the usual thing among the natives in India, a bribe—

> "Yea, it is gold that buys admittance,
> Makes Diana's rangers false themselves—"

not in the shape of the precious metal, but in two or three bags of rice, bought for them by my Brāhman (as *my* unhallowed hands and impurities would, in their estimation, have polluted the gift), appeared very acceptable to the fakeers: not that they were in want of it, but their wonted cupidity got the better of their scruples, and they acceded to my wish of residing in the temple. This arrangement, however, was not accomplished without certain stipulations, committed to writing, exchanged, and mutually ratified: they observing, with their usual flattery and cunning, that a Company's *Sāhib* would not break his agreement, although they could not trust their own people, who were great rascals and liars. This side-wind compliment to the European is never received in any kind of ill-humour among each other, for they understand dissimulation and adulation as well as any people on the face of the earth. The restrictions they laid on me it was necessary to adhere to, as they delight in making a complaint,

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being naturally of a litigious disposition. They will often put themselves to great expense and trouble to make the most fictitious charges, if it be only for the purpose of giving themselves consequence in the eyes of their followers or dependents; and though often no possible benefit can result from their misrepresentations, yet they will pursue a system of annoyance for weeks, giving themselves a vast deal of trouble in complaining, for the sole purpose of self-vanity in being listened to, and thought of some little importance in their village or community. These hints are not unnecessarily thrown out to those who may visit Elora.

I will now give the piece of diplomacy between the high contracting powers: it is short and explanatory, as all *state papers* ought to be. Whether there is any ability or address in the *official* document, is left to the better judgment of any of those gentlemen who lately met at Verona, should this work have the good fortune to fall into such hands.

Article 1.—The great hall of the temple is to be entirely evacuated by the fakeers of all orders, and the portico at the entrance to be likewise freed of all intruders.—Agreed to; but that my servants are on no account or pretence to cook meat, or smoke tobacco, within the walls.

Article 2.—That free ingress and egress are to be allowed to the devotees at certain hours for the

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Ling worship of Māhā Deo, situated in one of the small rooms. Agreed to; but the priests and pilgrims are to proceed down the hall by the side aisles, and not through the larger or centre one. Agreed to.

Article 3.—That one spring of water is solely appropriated to my purposes, and no other to be polluted in any way whatever by me or my people. Agreed to.

Article 4.—That no fowl, sheep, kid, or other animal, is to be slaughtered near any of the temples, but one hundred yards distant, in front of the ground where my tent is pitched; that the cooking is to take place a few yards outside the wall of the front entrance. Agreed to.

(Signed) SOMEKEE RAM VYSTNAM,
1810. Brāhman.

Bhumeshearee, Sunassee.
Gopāl-Dass, Gossein.
Indurvirakumee, Voiragee.

On my part, NULLA RAO,
Brāhman and Pundit.

In this treaty, it will be observed, no reference was made to *beef*, knowing the abhorrence they have even to the name of it: however accidentally or slightly alluded to, the mere mention of it will put a high caste Hindoo into a cold sweat of horror, and cause his countenance to assume a livid colour: they will spit on the ground at the

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moment, that their breath may not be contaminated with the dreadful sound. I had salt provisions with me, but it would have been a cruelty to have outraged their feelings by letting them know it; nor would it have been a very wise or very safe thing to have informed them I had such an article in my possession. In one of the front rooms, near the balcony over the gateway, is the bull Nundi *himself,* the daily object of adoration and worship; so it will be seen whether keeping my salt beef *au secret* was not necessary.

Before closing the labour of the day we must again mention, that on each side of the porticos, in two corners, are figures of Sphinxes, cut similarly to those we see in accounts of Egypt. I have in no part of India, nor in the other excavations on Salsette, near Bombay, seen any representation of the kind: it is an interesting subject of remote antiquity, not undeserving the notice of the learned.

A circumstance may here be noticed that is not generally known, but it is nevertheless authenticated by an eye-witness, on whose veracity I can place the highest dependence, viz. that during the expedition into Egypt against the French, the Bombay Siphauees, that formed a part of the army who proceeded by the Red-Sea and Suez, recognized many of the mythological figures, particularly the bull, and some stone figures of serpents. This information they immediately conveyed to

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their officers, exclaiming that the people who formerly inhabited Egypt must have been Hindoos. It is, perhaps, more likely the Hindoos borrowed some of their mythological ideas and emblems from the country of Osiris. This is a subject above my reach; all that I know is, that a great resemblance exists between the gods of India, Greece, and Egypt. We are warranted in this conclusion by Sir William Jones's learned work on the gods of Italy, Greece, and India, and in the more recent publication by Major Edward Moor, of Bombay, on Hindoo Mythology, who with great labour points out the history of the endless list of Hindoo idols.

One word here in elucidation of the preceding remark may not be irrelevant. In my various journeys to the caves on Salsette, I saw no representation of a Sphinx, although I have repeatedly and carefully inspected those temples; nor, on a reference to nearly three hundred pages of manuscript papers regarding Canarah, Elephanta, Amboulee, Monpaser, and Macal, can I find any notice of the Sphinx. These temples are distinct ranges of excavations. I never saw any thing of the kind at Ekverah, in the Deccan; nor have I ever heard from natives, that at Bancoote, Mahabillipuram, or at Baniyam, eighty miles from Cabûl, is a Sphinx seen. These last temples are wonderfully numerous, said in the Ayeen Akbery

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to be 12,000 in number, some of them large, and all dedicated to Budha.

The two Sphinxes at Elora, it must be recollected, are in the portico outside the hall, as they are often represented in plates of Egyptian temples. Unpretending as my knowledge is of antiquities, and unfitted as I am by education, talents, and profession for learned disquisitions, I still feel a deep interest in every thing relating to these truly wonderful places; and that is my apology for recurring to the very singular circumstance of the Sphinxes at Elora.

October 10.—It was my intention to have slept in the great hall of Keylas, and my couch was placed there, with one of my Siphauees as sentry in the portico; but sleep, as the Hindoo expresses it, "never came." In vain I essayed from side to side, and conversed with my guard; I repeated Shakspeare's invocation to the balmy god in vain; the gloomy solemn silence that reigned all around after night-fall became oppressively heavy. It was not that pleasing pensive melancholy that steals over the mind when viewing these wonders by day-light; it was not fear nor dread; but the imagination wrought on by the solitariness and grandeur of the place, and of the mighty race who formed it, which led the mind back to an unknown age, with all its train of reflections on the mutability of human affairs.

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Shut up from the din and turbulence of the world in these deep solitudes, the thoughts of a contemplative man recur to past ages with delight and enthusiasm; but it is so softened and saddened in these retreats *at night*, by the mystical wonders all around, that his cogitations are any thing but pleasing. Surely the Brāhman could not have designed a fitter place for meditation, or to fix the mind of his worldly or wandering disciple. Nothing can be better adapted to estrange the soul from all mundane ideas than the deep gloom of these temples at the hour of midnight. Whilst thus in the pensive mood, restless, and the mind fatigued with thinking, the lines of Pope came to my aid.

"The sage Chaldeans robed in white appear'd,
And Brāhmans deep in desert woods revered.
These stopp'd the moon, and call'd the embodied shade
To midnight banquets in the glimmering glade;
Made visionary fabrics round them rise,
And airy spectres skim before their eyes;
Of talisman and vigils knew the power,
And careful watch'd the planetary hour."

This made matters worse, so that I thought upon "beating a retreat" to my tent. What must be the feelings of the ignorant superstitious native, who attributes all these temples to divine origin! The Hindoo votary must have been sceptical and lethargic enough who was not impressed with religious awe and superstitious fear, while offering

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up his orisons at these sacred shrines, acted upon by the delusions of midnight music, innumerable lights of scented oils, the prayers and singing of the priests, and the fierce-looking deities staring him in the face in every direction, in either a mystical, allegorical, or legendary character; and, to crown the scene of worship, the glorious canopy of Heaven, with its unknown worlds and millions of lights constantly seen from the virandas or windows of nearly all the temples. Although the Hindoo's ideas and observances are totally different from ours, the same is the tendency of his prayers and offerings to

"The Great First Cause, least understood."

This is but a very imperfect picture of the grand scene during religious festivals. How sublimely awful must nature here appear clothed in the terrible garb of thunder, lightning, and storms, during night in the rainy season (or monsoon); the lightning of the most vivid and luminous kind, often close to the earth; the rain falling in cascades compared to the showers of Europe; long, loud, and deep thunder, peculiar to tropical climates, reverberating through the areas and excavations of the mountain, shaking these massy tenements to their foundations! How fearfully grand must the scene be here during such a night, at the solemn hour of midnight, heightened by the show and shouts of the most enthusiastic worship, is better conceived than described.

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"Auspicious midnight, hail!
The world excluded, every passion hush'd,
And open'd a calm intercourse with Heaven;
Here the soul sits in council—ponders past,
Predestines future actions—sees not—feels not
Tumultuous life, and reasons with the storm."

These vast temples are firm and stedfast; being undetached from the native mountain, their original foundation, they appear to bid defiance to the elements; and here, with all the terrors usually attendant upon storms in India, we may view the raging conflict, securely housed in rocky mansions, whose walls, ceilings, and floors are coeval with the creation; so that it is impossible, unless the man is as cold and as senseless as the bull Nundi himself, to help expressing his feelings.

My sensations at this time were of a heavy nature: the grandeur, gloom, and stillness of the place were insupportable. My faithful Siphauee guard told me at last we had better retire to the tent; the "Pandoos were good or bad just as it pleased their fancies; the demons and evil spirits he had no doubt visited these places, and if I had no objection it would be better to go away." Being half inclined to do so, and wishing for some repose, I acceded to his wish, and we both quietly sneaked out of Paradise to my tent; and, having left my couch behind, I slept in my palanquin, where visions of the Pandoos in all their glory, mighty hosts of workmen with their tools labouring

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at the excavations, the architects directing their operations, the priests stimulating them to exertion, all passed in review before my disturbed thoughts in constant succession; nor were markets for supplying the wants of the people, and the multitudes of the idle and admiring crowd, wanting to fill up the delusions of my slumbering thoughts.

I arose at daylight, as happy, as gay, and as joyous as a youth could possibly be, whose equanimity of temper nothing could ruffle. The fineness of the day, and the interesting and arduous pursuits before me, gave a buoyancy to my spirits, that was really enviable. Contrasted with the previous night, how different was the aspect of Elora! The days of our youth are the happiest of our lives: this was one of the happiest I ever experienced—alas! as the song says,

"Departed, never to return."

Having thus briefly paid a tribute of respect to Elora, we will now methodically pursue our researches: and the reader must be phlegmatic, dull, and cold indeed, who will not appreciate the interesting objects that will gradually disclose themselves to his view.

At the entrance of the front area of the great insulated temple you enter by a small wooden door of modern workmanship. Passing on a little distance, stand the two large columns, beautifully

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carved in squares, graduated to the top. The dimensions are given in a former page. They have a noble appearance, and rise proudly in the side areas, opposite the square room containing the bull Nundi. Passing further down, on each side are piazzas, or open galleries, exteriorly enclosing the three areas, and joining the one at the further end or eastern extremity. These galleries occupy three sides of the mountain: the interior wall or scarp of them is richly sculptured, in open compartments, with a great variety of figures of the Hindoo mythology. The superincumbent rock, which forms the roof, projects irregularly from fifteen feet to nineteen feet beyond the pillars. At the eastern end it is lower than the ceiling, and on the southern or right-hand piazza from seven feet to thirteen feet six inches.

The figures and emblems which are displayed in the side-galleries in great profusion will be regularly and distinctly noticed in their due order, as will the gallery or piazza at the further or eastern end, behind the great temple. The entire length of this eastern gallery, measuring from the inner walls of the two side-galleries, is one hundred and eighty-six feet; the height is thirteen feet four inches, and the same in breadth. The roof is sustained by seventeen pillars, two feet six inches square. It is divided from the large temple by the area already mentioned, and which affords a clear walk all round the beautiful and wonderful block

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of insulated and excavated rock. The height of the mountain from which this gallery is excavated is upwards of one hundred feet. From this part it is gradually shelving downwards to the outer area of the front entrance, which is almost fifty feet: from which it will be instantly seen what an enormous mass of rock the pillars of this piazza have to support. In this eastern piazza are nineteen figures, mostly in high relief; some of them upwards of seven feet in height, well proportioned, and, in general, well executed. Some few are accompanied by other figures, referring to the principal personage represented in the open compartment. They are placed nearly equi-distant, so as to be almost opposite to the open space left in the interval of the pillars in front. We will not at this part of our researches entangle the reader in the labyrinth of allegory here portrayed with vast labour on the inner walls of the piazzas: we will only, in our silent admiration, pay a tribute of respect to the interesting perseverance of the people who shaped the hard material into its present form and beauty. Over *this* gallery, or piazza, there are no apartments hewn out: nothing but the bare rock appears to the very summit, on which grows a stunted and wild vegetation.

In the two sides of the mountain, or northern and southern face, the artists have not been idle; for there are some fine apartments, above and below, excavated before you even enter the gallery

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from the areas (FFFFF), and ascended by steps, as they are considerably above the court, or area. You enter the southern or right-hand gallery by a doorway, two feet five inches in breadth, and five feet high. This piazza is one hundred and eighteen feet in length, in breadth sixteen feet eight inches, and in height thirteen feet two inches. It has eleven pillars to support the roof, including the angle one at the commencement of the rear piazza. Three of these are broken down; said, as usual, to be done by the malice or bigotry of the Mussulman emperor Aurungzebe; in like manner as all the dilapidations done to the excavations on the western shores are by the Hindoos laid to the charge of the fury and zeal of the early Portuguese conquerors: but of this charge against the once mighty Aurungzebe more will be said by and by. In this gallery there are twelve figures, similar in size and character to those mentioned in the eastern gallery. At its entrance, and within it, is a room sixty-one feet by twenty-two feet six inches, whose height is eleven feet four inches. A part of this is in an unfinished state.

Here are some smaller rooms, with finely sculptured figures; the dimensions of which are of no material consequence, as the largest does not exceed thirty-seven feet, and the smallest are only ten feet in breadth. One of the rooms is elaborately ornamented with statues detached from the wall: the chief figure is a large skeleton, having a lesser

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on either side, and standing erect, with each foot on a fallen naked figure. It is necessary here to remark, that between two of the pillars the roof is arched.

As many doubts have been expressed, and much controversy has taken place about circular roofs and the pointed style of architecture, a specific notice of the subject may not be impertinent in this place. Altogether there are four rooms on this ground-story. It was stated in a former page that a bridge, now fallen down, communicated from the great temple to some apartments hewn out of the face of the mountain opposite. There are two upper stories, exclusive of a room twelve feet above the level of the area, thirty-seven feet by fifteen feet, and called by the general name of Lunca, or Lanca*, probably from the wars of Rama.

There is no means of access to these but by a ladder; and the village of the once mighty Elora (will it be believed?) afforded none. However, one of my people found means, with the aid of some bamboos brought from the village, to make shift to get an entrance. The natives of India are nearly as active with their feet as with their hands. He had my measuring line, with some small rags of red cloth to tie on to the line, for the purpose of ascertaining the length, &c. The room, formerly communicating with the portico

* Ceylon.

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on the right-hand side of the great temple by means of the former bridge, was sixty-two feet in length, nineteen feet in depth, and seventeen feet in height. Another room, within this, with a seat all round, was very dark, as it only derived light from the doorway of the larger room. This was thirty-five feet by twenty-nine feet. The second story above is ascended by twenty-five steps, and is nearly of the same size as the large one just described. Here is another smaller room, as in the lower floor, and nearly of the same dimensions. It has an additional room, of sixteen feet in length, and thirteen feet in height. The parts I could see appeared to have suffered from some drains of water which have found a channel through the roof.

The rock in some parts appears of a grayish sandy colour, very friable. My servant threw me out pieces of it. There was nothing to excite particular remark in these excavations. They look directly into the great temple that stands in the centre of the court. We have now, with the exception of some little notice of the deities, got through the great temple itself, the right-hand apartments and piazza, and the piazza at the farther end; and we have only now to step across the court, by passing under the bridge by the passages to the left-hand or northern piazza. Here again we have upper apartments hewn out of the moun-

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tain, and facing the grand temple, as those on the southern side do.

Where will the labours of these indefatigable workmen cease? It astounds the mind as we proceed, and we feel delight and surprise as we pass through these venerated and stupendous piles. Every step claims our exclusive and deep admiration. Nay, were these places erected with brick and mortar, and divested of figures and ornaments, they would excite attention; but when we see them all hewn out of the solid primitive rock, by the tedious working of a chisel, really, without exaggeration or enthusiasm, our wonder knows no limits. Indifferent to the contemplation of stupendous works must be the mind of him who would not admire and applaud these mighty works, the offspring of the remotest antiquity, of periods antecedent to writen records, and of which there is not even a probable oral tradition. Surely, then, my labour and journey are not ill bestowed in bringing to public notice these wondrous works. So very little known are they, not only to my countrymen, but on the continent of Europe, that I feel confident, nay satisfied, that my labour is not lost, nor will it be unthankfully or uncourteously received.

On entering the left hand, or northern piazza or gallery, there is an apartment, a kind of excavated ante-room, that communicates both with the figure

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gallery and the apartments above. We arrive at the gallery by a doorway six feet in height, and two feet ten inches wide.

This gallery is nearly of the same dimensions in height and breadth as the one on the southern side; it has eleven pillars, two feet eight inches square; the only material difference in its appearance is, that the rock does not project so far out beyond the capitals of the pillars as in the other two piazzas. It contains, in open compartments, twelve figures of the Hindoo mythology, which will, like their brethren in the eastern and southern piazzas, be hereafter distinctly detailed. At the entrance of this piazza, as on the opposite side, on the ground floor, or basement, are some apartments. The architects appear to have considered these rooms of an inferior order, for both in design and finishing they will not bear a comparison to many of the other caves, and particularly to the fine excavations placed immediately above them, to which they have, in all probability, been as a kind of out-offices, or used for the abode of domestics and attendants, as they have rock-benches round them, evidently for couches, or seats. They are sufficiently lighted; but with the exception of three female figures, nine plain pillars, and six pilasters, they are devoid of architectural ornament. They are too large and exposed for cells, or dormitories.

In those I have observed in the caverned temples

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in Salsette, the cells were small, with a bench and room sufficient for one person only; and in those places there was a spring of water in each. If these lower apartments were applied to the purpose supposed, no part of Keylas could be better adapted, as they are situated equally convenient to the large temple in the centre of the court, and are on the border of the area, communicating with the entrance to the whole length of the three piazzas: they are the basement story of the beautiful apartments above. Were we once, however, to indulge in conjecture, backed as I am by about three hundred pages of notes on the caverned temples and habitations in the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, and of pagodas in other parts of India, near Bombay, our task would be endless, and constantly filled with references to other temples than those we are describing. This might, in many instances, illustrate the subject, but at the same time unnecessarily swell my pages to an extent far beyond my intention.

In the rooms we were just describing as the probable residence of the servants of the former occupiers of these temples, there are three apartments; the largest fifty-eight feet in length, and within the benches sixteen feet in breadth; in height ten feet six inches. Another room of the same set is fifty-five feet by twelve feet six inches; in height it is sixteen feet. The other is considerably smaller, being twenty-two feet three inches only,

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eight feet in breadth, and ten in height. Near the staircase is an unexcavated interval of twenty-one feet, and on the top of the stairs is a small unfinished room.

Ascending from the basement floor, by a flight of twenty-five steps, is a fine large room of regular proportions, richly ornamented with sculpture, and in the finest state of preservation; the workmanship is excellent throughout. Even if formed of less solid materials than rock, it would be thought a splendid apartment, were it placed in any of the finest edifices in England. This beautiful excavation commands a full view of the great insulated temple in front of the piazzas, and of the court.

I still fancy myself in the small balcony that projects out over the area, and which is situated thirty-six feet above the ground of the area*. The breadth from this small balcony to the inner wall of the apartment, is thirty-nine feet eight inches; the length, comprising a recess at the extremity, in which is a temple of Māhā Deo, is ninety-seven feet: this excavation is called Great Lanca. The roof is supported (if the superincumbent hill can be so designated) by three rows of massy pillars, having six in each range, three feet six inches and a half square; they are richly ornamented, the

* It will be seen hereafter how similar in design is Indra's temple to Keylas, as an excavated area, in its insulated temple, and in its side apartments.

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shafts are fluted, and they have either a flat capital without architrave or frieze, or the circular capital, described in a foregoing page, as a full cushion projecting over the shaft, with the rounded edges prettily scolloped, as if forced into that shape by the heavy pressure of the mass of rock above.

If scientific and professional men find themselves at a loss in describing the buildings at Rome and Athens, how much more difficult must be the task to an unlettered soldier in detailing forms of architecture, of which we have no example among the ancient orders, and which are so unlike any modern structure! But, rather than remain unintelligible to the reader, I would have recourse to any similitude of form to make myself understood. I may suffer in so doing; but, rather than pass them over in silence, I will abide by the consequences. The whole of this excavation is so perfect and unique, that it deserves every attention. To give an air of grandeur to the room, the centre floor is raised eleven inches, and the ceiling or roof to correspond: this platform is square, and occupies a great part of the room. At the entrance of the room are two colossal figures resting on large maces: these my people called *dewriesdars*, keepers of state rooms; but I much doubt if they have not some more classical appellation. However, should this have been a

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hall of audience, which from its raised floor is not improbable, their appearance at the door as guards is a happy idea.

These two figures, with their staves of office, are finely finished. In front of the doorway, and midway between these guardians of the entrance, is a stone figure of our old friend the bull Nundi, couchant, with short straight horns, and the usual hump or excrescence between his shoulders. He is not detached from the floor of the apartment, but is represented with his legs bent under him in a kneeling posture, watching as it were the sanctuary of his deity, opposite Mhah Deva (Siva*) with whom he is generally in close contact. As to his symbolical connexion with the Lingham, from obvious motives I shall say nothing about his attributes; but as he and Mhah Deo are so highly and widely worshipped, more so than all the other Hindoo deities put together, this brief notice was required. In the plate of Keylas he is accurately represented, and he is almost invariably seen in casts of brass, as the household god of every Hindoo, who can afford to purchase one. He is

* Or, Maha Deo (the great God), Siva, the destroying power of Bramah, with his wife Parvati, are evidently the presiding deities at these temples; otherwise I should not have distinguished him with two plates, or his chief symbols the Lingham and the bull Nundi: these so frequently occur in the temples, that two drawings of them appear indispensable. Both will be found in their proper places.

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often represented by painters and statuaries with the addition of Mhah Deo and his wife Parvati seated on his back. The copy which I have of the one in this temple is similar, except that he is kneeling, and not so interesting to the curious as in this portrait, where he is equipped, carrying his precious burden in full costume.

The ceiling or roof of this apartment has been prettily painted. Some of the colours are still vivid; but the smoke from fires, made by the degenerate priests of the present day, has greatly obscured the colouring, although it may still be traced. Like the building and door at the entrance of Keylas, the painting is allowed to be of modern date. The whole of this apartment is elaborately enriched with figure emblems, &c. of the Hindoo mythology, both allegorical and legendary. Some of them would not discredit a modern artist. The entrance, or doorway, is seven feet and a half high, and three feet eight inches wide. Viewing the room from this entrance, it looks somewhat disproportioned as to height, and although the *tout ensemble* is correctly preserved, a little greater elevation in the ceiling would have added much to its beauty.

Let us here imagine for a moment what a laborious undertaking it would appear to us, were fifty workmen placed here to excavate the roof fifteen feet higher, the proportions and altitude of the pillars to be carried on, the walls of the recess

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(where is placed Mhah Deo's temple) to be raised upwards, in proportion with the ceiling, and the number of sculptured figures to be increased in ratio with the increased height of the room. What an arduous and difficult undertaking would it appear to be thus obliged to excavate the solid rock, and fashion it, not simply into habitations and temples, but to ornament all its parts with pillars, devices, figures, and emblems, uniform in appearance, and perfect in design! What must have been the labour and zeal of the workmen in thus attacking a mountain formed of the firm primeval rock, and cutting hundreds of thousands of feet of that hard material by the aid of an iron instrument! Surely it almost exceeds belief, that the ingenuity and industry of man could carry him through such stupendous and wonderful undertakings. Did we close our account here, our admiration would not be commensurate with the object now before us; but when we know there are other excavations, if not as grand as Keylas, nearly as beautiful, and the apartments much larger—truly our admiration knows no bounds, and we may exclaim—

"*Ruins* that efface whate'er of finish'd modern pomp can boast."

This quotation, however, is not strictly applicable, for the greater part of these are not ruins, but are in as perfect a state of preservation as when first formed, and will remain so for thousands of years, when our Stowes, Blenheims, Fonthills, Chats-

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worths, or the holy fanes of Yorkminster and St. Paul's, are passed away. These temples are imperishable, except by the action of water, or any concussion of nature, which nothing can withstand.

These desultory remarks have been elicited from the problem I suggested to those acquainted with stone-cutting, and the nature of rock, as to the probable time it would occupy fifty workmen to raise the roof or ceiling fifteen feet, strictly regarding its present form and appearance. This is a query I am incapable of answering; but if I can excite curiosity and research, these observations are not misplaced, and it is further hoped not idly thrown out.

The only objects which now detain us at Keylas, are the sculptured figures that occupy the three piazzas or galleries. Were we to go into a regular history of these mythological personages, it would fill a substantial volume. Happily for the reader, my appetite for these deep matters has, since the days of my youth, nearly subsided. In the brief detail that we purpose entering into we will bear in mind the old epigram:—

> "He loves not words, but matter; 'tis his pleasure
> To buy his words by weight, and not by measure."

The Pantheon consists of forty-three deities, ranged in compartments, or open pannels, along the boundary wall of the mountain, out of which the three piazzas are excavated, the whole three

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sides facing the great temple, which stands nearly in the centre of the court, and from which they are divided by the area already mentioned. For the purpose of regularity, we will begin with the first figure at the entrance of the right hand piazza, reckoning from the front gateway.

RIGHT HAND PIAZZA, OR GALLERY OF GÓDS AND GODDESSES, HEROES, AND SAINTS.

Southern Gallery.

1. Ana Pooma, or Purna—a goddess; a form of Bhavani Devi, Ceres. Ana (grain) Purna (abundance), sitting with a measure in her hand.

2. Balla Jee—an Avatar of Vishnu, so called among the Mahrattas, with whom it is a common name. Jee is a title; in Goojraat, Vinkutrama; in the Carnatic, Terpati. The figure is upright.

3. Crishna (Vishnu), trampling on the black snake, or Kali-Naga; hence the name of the city Nagpore (Nagapura): he is triumphant over the serpent.

4. Bhara Avatar, or great incarnation; or Avatar of Bhairara, a son of Maha Deo: this hero is supposed to have decapitated Brahma. Images of him are very common in the Mahratta country: figure standing, and ill-looking.

5. Crishna riding on Garuda, or Garuntwanta: a monster, half man and half eagle; the vehicle of Vishnu: fights with Hanuman: has a long beak and talons (formidable weapons for the monkey):

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he is son of Kasyapa: he is greatly adored. To be seen in Elephanta, and is variously represented.

6. Maha Deo Ballee, with six hands; this is unusual:—he is the changer of things; the countenance is threatening: one hand holds the parasha, or hatchet, another a lotos; otherwise he is like the generality of figures of Siva.

7. Govinda: another name of Crishna, in a poem called the Geeta Govinda. In the tenth book of the Bhagavat, his love for Radha is pleasingly told: he is musical. Chief of herdsmen, youthful, and often seen in a dancing attitude; and looks something like a human being, with a pretty face, and the usual number of hands: he is often seen as a huntsman, holding a bow and arrows.

8. Vishnu:—This is the original himself, the preserving power, co-equal with Brahma, essence of Brahm, the eternal one: he is Rama Budha, typified in the sun; Brahma sprang from his navel in the flower of the lotos during the flood. Lakshmi is his consort. Has four hands; he visited the earth nine times; the eighth descent as Crishna; his followers are Vaishnavas; he is second member of the triad; has the clank (shell) and the chakra, a large ring, not unlike a quoit, on the finger: figure upright and richly dressed.

9. Narsinga (Man Lion) killing Kurn Kushe:—He has a most frightful countenance whilst tearing out the bowels of Kushe. It is frightfully but well

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portrayed; he is sitting with the victim on his knees. It is an Avatar of Vishnu.

10. Dhurm Raj (another name of Yama) embracing Kermala:—a deity of high celebrity, regent of the world. He is Time, Death, Pluto; a principal name of Budha, literally chief of charity or justice. Kermala, a chief priest.

11. Wittoba:—A hero not frequently seen. A common Mahratta name; an incarnation of Vishnu.

12. Maha Deo (Siva), in solitary grandeur in a niche by himself.

This finishes the southern gallery or piazza; and we now step into the eastern gallery, which contains seven more figures than the southern, it being of greater length.

Eastern Gallery.

1. Kissundass, or Kesin:—An evil spirit killed by Vishnu; a fabled monster, of whom but little is known.

2. Govinda and Lakshmi:—This is another figure of Vishnu with his consort.

3. Balajee Behroo, "as before." Among the multiplicity of figures in these galleries I ought to have been more distinct. Major Moor's large work was not then published, and my companions (Brahmans) more confounded than assisted me; for each had his tale and favourite opinion.

4. Govinda.

5. Behroo.

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6. Narain, or Narayan:—"Moving on the waters;" the Deity; the Great One whence Brahma emanated, sometimes called BRAHM; beyond all comprehension, great, invisible, almighty. *Nara*, is water; *Ayan*, moving: and the "Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters;" and the lotos floated, giving birth to Brahma, &c.

"Pensive in the lotos lay,
That blossom'd at his touch, and shed a golden ray."

My Brahman and others repeated Narayan or Narain thrice as they passed this figure.

7. Mahamund:—Another name of Siva. The term *mund* probably alludes to Maha Deo.

8. Luxamandass, Lakshman:—Half-brother of Rama, son of Sumitra.

9. Brahma.—A fine bust, with emblems, &c.

The proportions of these figures are well preserved, but there is a want of anatomical expression in by far the greater part.

10. Govinda—again, but not so perfect. I have given these notes as written on the spot thirteen years ago.

11. Vishnu.—Of this and the other *principal* gods a few general observations will be offered, with a likeness of each.

12. Bala Bihroo, or Bala Behroo.—"The young." A common name by which the youth are called till they are fifteen years old.

13. Kal Behroo, or Brighu.—Son of Brahma; time or darkness, black. He is famous for his

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procreative influence, as he was the cause of Sumatee, wife of Sugari, who before was childless, having 60,000 male children at a birth.

14. Narsing, Avatar.—Another incarnation, as before-mentioned, issuing from a pillar, very finely done; strongly reminded me of Sampson; great muscular power; shoulder and breast broad, pressing against the pillar, and grasping it with his large hands; countenance wild and threatening.

15. Kal Behroo—again.

16. Garuda and Parvati.—Already mentioned. My memoranda say, Parvati seated, but I do not know whether on Garuda or not: he was generally useful to the gods, both as a vahan or vehicle, and for destroying their enemies: he assisted Rama in his war at Lanca, and helped Crishna.

17. Dytaseer, or Nacool.—A very fine figure standing on a low chariot; sides of it up to the knee, front rounded, back part open, body gracefully thrown forward in the act of drawing a bow, pointed at some object in front. The carriage and charioteer are totally different from any thing of the kind we see nowadays in India: the whole representation is admirably done.

18. Behroo with Govinda transfixed on a spear, are likewise fine figures: the countenances of both are well portrayed.

19. Garuda Parvati, before mentioned as the wife of Siva. The word signifies "mountain-born goddess."

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From this we proceed to the

Northern Gallery.

1. Bal Budra, issuing from the Ling of Māhā Deo, of whom he is the son.

2. Vishnu and Lakshmi, the pervader of all things and his consort.

3, 4, 5. Garuda and Parvati.—These are differently designed, but the general outline varies but little.

6. A Vaishnavas (Votary of Vishnu), with both legs fastened by a chain.

7. Garuda and Parvati.

8. Vishnu.

9. Māhā Deo and Parvati, and the bull Nundi.

10. Ditto.

11. Garuda and Parvati, and below them Ravan writing, and appearing very busy. This is a curious group.

Ling of Māhā Deo encompassed by nine heads (upheld by Ravan); these are skulls, a usual ornament of Māhā Deo, the Mund Malā.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Sir William Jones—The Oriental Continent superficially known—Exterior of Keylas—Quit Keylas—Description of Das Avatar and Teen Tal, or Rama Swammy's Dwelling—Bhudism—Temple of Do Tal—Hints for the Preservation of the Temples—Quit Do Tal.

In the foregoing summary of the gods I have strictly adhered to what I noted on the spot. Had I inserted one-fifth part of what the Brāhman and others, who *favoured* me with their company, said relating to the heroes, of the extravagant fables connected with their lives and actions, I should have extended the subject far beyond all reasonable limits; or had I, to their long and miraculous stories, culled from works on the mythology of the ancients in an acknowledged form, one half of my book would have been devoted to a subject by no means generally interesting.

At the time alluded to, when these notes were written, Major Moor's large work on Hindoo Mythology, which at Elora would have been, as a work of reference, of the greatest assistance, had not arrived in India. I, however, had a pretty good knowledge of the subject, and had a learned Brāhman in my service. Sir William Jones's paper, in the Asiatic Researches, on the Gods of India, contains a vast deal of learning, and much valuable matter. He was not only great as a

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oriental scholar, possessing rare qualifications and invincible industry; but he was very ardent, almost enthusiastically so: he had a theory of his own that often led him to seek for remote and improbable inductions, which subsequent investigation has proved to have been, in some instances, erroneous. Our knowledge at that time of Hindoo literature and science was very imperfect (and so it is now). Sir William never quitted Bengal. With all he did, and that was a vast deal, for science, much was left to be done: and although able men have followed him, none have possessed his zeal or acquirements*. A wide field is still open, promising an abundant harvest; for truly we are yet in our infancy in regard to our knowledge of India and its one hundred million of inhabitants. It is a very interesting country, and it is incredible how little it is known to the British public. There is not one person in twenty that ever knew there was such a place as Elora. While every part of Europe is ransacked and tortured, and every old stone wall and mutilated statue is honoured with half a dozen *distinct* histories, the vast continent of Asia remains a *terra incognita*.

In passing along these galleries, with their grim host of occupants, the view of the great temple is strikingly fine, particularly the back part, or that facing the eastern gallery. We here perceive that

* In this general remark, I of course except Mr. Colebrooke, Mr. Wilford, Mr. Wilkins, Dr. Wilson, Major Van Kennedy, Captain Sykes, and about half a dozen other gentlemen.

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the smaller temples (marked H) are upheld by elephants, who protrude from the walls of the large hall of Keylas. These elephants and other animals are very numerous, as they support the five small temples and the adjoining floors of rock. Some are shown as if in part only detached from the original mass; while others are seen almost stepping out from the wall; they are in different postures; some few are fighting. The pyramidal roofs of each of these small temples are, like the large mother temple, most profusely carved; but some few in a way too gross for description.

The right and left sides of the large temple are elaborately sculptured with the wars (as related in the large poem called the Rāmāyanā) of Rama and Ravan, at Lanca (Ceylon), for the recovery of his wife; in which Hanuman cuts a very conspicuous figure, with his legion of satyrs (or monkeys) in the battle. The Pandoos occupy the opposite sides, in small rows, consisting of foot soldiers, fighting men on elephants, and chariots drawn by horses; and the weapons straight swords, clubs, and bows; nor must we forget again to notice the figure of Vira Budra, holding in his uplifted hand Raj Duz, whilst a sword is held in the other hand to slay him. It is a striking representation of the judgment of Solomon*.

* This opinion is not singular. On returning I inquired of two or three friends who had been at Elora, and they coincided in the same idea.

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After repassing the wooden doorway, which is of modern erection, is the wall that exteriorly encloses Keylas: outside is the pathway and open country in front. The mountain out of which the caves are excavated is steep, standing upon a considerable rise free from much jungle or brushwood; but having sufficient wood and vegetation to give the path, and approach to it, a rural appearance. From the path the view of the surrounding country is fine and richly diversified, intersected with hill and dale; and Nature, clad in her evergreen garment, gives the landscape a pleasing aspect. Leaving the path about fifty yards in front, the various excavations cut in the face of the mountain, with their pillars, windows, and figures, occasionally breaking the outline, give to the whole a singular and highly interesting appearance. As we perceive these venerable abodes peeping out from the solid mass of rock, they nearly face the west*; and the line of excavation, with a trifling variation, is north and south. The altitude of the mountain or hill varies, but in no considerable degree. At Keylas the elevation does not much exceed one hundred

* All the other temples hewn out of the rock in other parts of India, have a western aspect, doubtless for the purpose of worshipping the setting sun, as Surya; he is called Vishnu, and Crishna in Sanscrit; the same is said by Colonel Vallancey to be his name in Irish. Captain Wilford observes in the East he is Brahma from noon till evening, Siva at night, while in the west, Vishnu.

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feet, and Keylas from the top of its pyramidal roof is not less than ninety feet. We had not the means of ascertaining this desirable point; it is necessary to explicitly avow it, which I would rather acknowledge than insert a vague statement.

It was impossible to get to the roof of this temple, from its insulated situation. From this front area, the retired, peaceful, and beautiful temples and habitations of Elora are partially beholden; the pyramidal roofs only showing themselves.

It is on approaching the gateway that we behold all the beauties of "The Proud Keylas," but which we must now reluctantly quit, to pursue our researches to the southward, or along the right hand range of temples and excavations, as we stand in front and outside Keylas.

Oct. 11.—The first excavation is of no particular beauty or distinguished by its size or sculptural ornaments. The mind is not attuned to the viewing of an inferior object after beholding the magnificence of Keylas. Something more splendid is required, after the impression left by that wonderful excavation, than this plain, and, comparatively speaking, insignificant temple; but although of no striking appearance among the "*host of wonders,*" it would in any other country be thought a fine monument of antiquity. Here it loses in effect both by the splendour of Keylas and the adjacent temple, to the right, Teen Tal. We must, however, suppress our inclination to describe the su-

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perb embellishments and vast dimensions of its near neighbour, and preserve the continuation of our narrative by mentioning in proper order of rotation the first excavation, called *Das Avatar*, or the Ten Incarnations; a representation of which is finely sculptured on the walls.

The temple consists of a lower and upper story: the lower is unadorned both in its walls and pillars. There are two recesses at each end, and both stories have an open front of six pillars and two pilasters. The area in front has formerly had a square apartment in its centre; but it has fallen, partly from its exposed situation, and from want of a trench* to carry off the rain water, which has done considerable mischief, by having brought down large masses of loose rock and earth from the mountain: the interior however appears to have suffered no injury. The artists have bestowed the greatest pains on the upper story: pillars support the ceiling of both floors. Some very finely finished mythological figures sculptured on the walls so arrested my attention, that I neglected to take the square of the pillars. My attendants were so desirous of proceeding to Teen Tal, and which anxiety they conveyed to me, that, exclusive of

* Great pains have been taken by the workmen at Canarah in cutting drains or gutters on the summit of the mountain, which is much higher than the Elora mountain: where there is the least difficulty at Canarah in proceeding over the summit, great numbers of small steps are cut, and are now in very perfect condition.

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paying a tribute of admiration to the variety of beautiful sculpture, chiefly relating to the Vaishnavas, I did nothing more than take the size of the rooms. This neglect of mine ought to teach us a useful lesson; for I find in my memorandum a long hiatus, and in red ink, the words "to-morrow" written. On the morrow, I forgot it; the next morrow it had, from the following leaves closing upon it, quite passed from the sight, and among the variety of objects here to deeply interest the mind receded also from my recollection. How necessary in all pursuits is a constant reflection upon these lines:—

"He will surely fail who does delay,
"And does to-morrow what should be done to-day."

The length of the lower room or story of Das Avatar is one hundred and four feet by forty-five; height fourteen feet ten inches:—the upper story has six pillars and two pilasters; in front of these stand seven other rows of very large plain and square pillars, supporting the ceiling of the room, which is considerably larger than the one below. The upper room contains a recess fourteen feet two inches, by thirty-seven feet four inches.—The upper room, exclusive of the recess, is one hundred and two feet four inches deep, and ninety-six feet ten inches long; the height is just the same as the lower story. There is a wall exteriorly enclosing the area; the doorway has been built or filled up.

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At the left hand side is a small excavation containing cisterns abundantly supplied with excellent water: early in the morning it was too cold for drinking. This area is sadly filled up with rubbish and fallen fragments.

A few yards further to the southward stands Teen Tal (three stories), a vast excavation, hollowed out of the very bowels of the mountain; having *three spacious* floors, distinct, and standing over each other, ascended by regular flights of steps leading into the upper stories like those of a large mansion. Without any affectation, or the circumlocution incidental to an inexperienced and modest author, I frankly confess my utter inability to do justice to the beauty of this extraordinary habitation: its great size, and the incredible labour that has been bestowed upon it, demand every attention.

The first impression that the mind receives is so overwhelming, that it possesses at first no inclination for examining in detail. If Keylas, from its figure, gallery, areas, and insular situation, stands pre-eminent, Teen Tal, from its immensity of excavation, massive pillars, and rich sculptures, nearly rivals its neighbour in grandeur. Although different in design and exterior appearance to Keylas, it equally demands the undivided attention of the observer, and be he ever so taciturn or indifferent to works of antiquity, his feelings would be animated, and his admiration excited, at viewing these august works—works that I hesitate not in

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affirming are equalled by nothing in Europe, and surpassed by nothing in Egypt. What a golden opportunity would this be for a learned antiquary to riot in! and what a literary treat would the pen of a classical and highly talented tourist afford while delineating these wonders! How the "Great Unknown" would banquet on these eternal monuments of a past age, revelling in delight amid its ancient walls and altars! All that I can contribute will be a correct and if possible a particular account of this singular *House*.

We must first premise that it has three stories, and is entered by a doorway eleven feet high and eight feet two inches broad, left in the front wall, which encloses the area: this wall has been left standing as the excavation was first formed. The entrance leads us into a fine area, which widens as we proceed a few feet. Here the entire front of the three floors, or stories, appears to great advantage. The front is open, and to each story is placed eight square pillars and two pilasters; those on the second and third stories form the outer part, or the viranda division; they are not ornamented in any way, with the exception of two in the centre range on the ground floor. This latter story is level with the area, and like the upper stories is open in front, and it has six pillars in the depth. There is a recess in this room, containing a large figure of Seesha*. The room will be seen by the dimensions

* During the seventh incarnation he was born in the human shape.

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to be considerably smaller than the stories above; nor have the artists bestowed the same pains on the work as on the upper ones. Here, as at Keylas, are cisterns, containing an abundant supply of very fine water. This room is one hundred and eighteen feet long, and forty-one feet six inches deep: the height is very disproportioned, being only eleven feet eight inches.

Besides the gigantic figure already noticed, there are very large figures of Angari and Adanaut*; these are in a sitting posture, and are nearly the entire height of the room, the crowns of their heads touching the ceiling within four inches.

There are other figures here also, but of no note. The recess has a room within it of nineteen feet by twelve, the ceiling of which is two feet six inches higher than that of the large room; the recess itself is forty-three feet five inches in depth. This room, which in any other place would be thought a wonder, is not, upon the whole, well-finished; and the same remark holds good with the ground floor of the excavation at the entrance of the left-hand piazza at Keylas. The upper story there, as at this place, is a beautiful excavation, accurately proportioned, the stone of a very fine polish: while the basement story of both appears to have been

* Brahma, Vishnu, and Rudra, then joined their power, and formed ten men, whose names were generally Munis; Angari being Charity personified. Adanaut is a deity belonging to the Budhists, and worshipped exclusively, I believe, by the Jains only.

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negligently completed, as if the artificers considered that their skill and labour would be seen to greater advantage in the upper floors or stories than in the basements. Whether these singular workmen commenced their operations upon the upper part or stories; first working downwards, and getting tired of their *light* and *easy* task, as it proceeded towards its completion; or whether the basement of the two excavations (Keylas and this one) were appointed to inferior purposes, (for neither of them contain any altar or lingham) is a matter of interesting inquiry.

Quitting this ground floor, we ascend to the second story by twenty-four fine stairs, on the right-hand side. Twelve stairs up is a recess, twenty-five feet by twenty feet six inches, containing a large figure of Cuvera*, one of the seven genii, but subordinate to the gods of the Triad; he is the Indian Plutus; but the Brahmans affirmed to me, he was the maker of bread to the great Rama. This is the chief figure; but there are some others. A few stairs continued on from this room, is the noble viranda, or rather large room, one hundred and fourteen feet in length, and in depth across eighty-two feet six inches; the height of the ceiling (which is likewise the floor of the third story),

* Cuvera, or Pluths. He is subordinate to the other gods: he is the god of riches, as Lakshmi is the goddess; they are not connected. Cuvera is not very popular, and he is represented as arbitrary, selfish, gloomy, and deformed.

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twelve feet four inches. At each end of this spacious viranda is a door-way, leading to four small apartments in each extremity of the rock. The wall is continued, so as to make room for the four small apartments, one on each side: this contracts the opening of the temple with the viranda to two pillars and two pilasters. At the extreme end is a recess, sixteen feet deep, having a gigantic figure of Lakshamān, (an inferior deity) half brother of Rama:—he is in a sitting posture, and two large figures of Balraj are on each side the door-way. The wall here again lessens the size of the room, and interrupts the uniformity of the pillars; for, by leaving the wall standing, a portion is taken off to afford space for the small rooms, that are, as it were, partitioned off. There are but six large square and ornamented pillars that are entirely clear of the wall. At the further end of the viranda is a sitting figure of Jambhu, a hero and partisan of Rama. Proceeding from the viranda, by a good staircase, consisting of twenty-four stairs, and situated at the opposite end to which we entered on the second floor, is the grand and spacious viranda of the upper story, unquestionably the finest excavation in the whole series, whether we consider its great dimensions, its variety of rich sculpture, massy pillars, or perfect preservation, and fine polish.

At the first view on entering the upper story, the most intense interest cannot fail to be excited, as we reflect that man, with his limited powers, has

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been able to effect such glorious works, surpassing all possible belief; and did we not actually know that such places exist in the retired and peaceful solitudes of Elora, the relation would be doubted.

This fine room is not so high as the second floor by four inches; it is likewise four feet less in length: the depth, inclusive of the recess, is a few inches greater than the apartment below; but the trifling difference precludes the necessity of repeating the distinct dimensions: the recess only occupies a space of sixteen feet eight inches: the viranda is entered by a door-way. On the left of the landing-place is a small room, not unlike a place allotted to a sentry or door-keeper. Facing the entrance at the further or southern end of the viranda is a very large figure of *Sey Deo*, or more commonly *Sey-hudea*, the immortal serpent, but who subsequently assumed the human form. Next to this hero, on his left side continuing by the lateral wall, we have, arranged, the remaining brothers of the *Panch-Pan-Deo*, or five deified brothers, our old friends the Pandoos. Great pains have been bestowed on them by the artist. They are very correctly represented in high relief, admirably finished, and the whole of them surmounted by a kind of canopy of flowing drapery, made to wave over them, and tastefully upheld by small figures; whether deities or urchins cannot be ascertained.

To perpetuate the glories of ancient days, the founders of Elora could not have conveyed to

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posterity a better idea of their genius than in these colossal figures of gods, and stupendous excavations; for man has here gone beyond himself. Next in the series is *Nakôol;* then *Bheem;* next *Arzoon;* and last, *Dhurmraj*. Opposite to these figures, in niches or compartments of a similar construction, are sculptured

Oodoo Madha, a giant killed by Chrishna;

Panda or *Padma,* a representation of Vishnu, and

Sudan, or *Sunda,* a son of *Jambhu,* who flourished in the Lanca war.

The space that should have contained a figure to correspond with the figure opposite is occupied by the door-way. A gigantic figure of *Rama Swammy* adorns the room, and stands in a niche, descended by two steps, exclusively appropriated to himself. Although in a sitting posture, he is upwards of eight feet high, and five feet across the breast to the shoulders. From his countenance being besmeared with red ochre and oil, he has a fierce appearance although *red* is not the distinguishing *tiluk* (mark) of that deity. He is a personage of first rate importance in Hindoo fables, and holds a rank of the highest order. M. Sonnerat thinks he is the same person as Buddah; while Sir William Jones holds a very different opinion, and thinks that *Dionysius* and *Rama* were the same person. The wars and feats of Rama at Lanca*, are

* When Rama invaded Ceylon to recover his consort, Hanuman threw a bridge over, *vulgo* Adam's Bridge;—it is a curious

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detailed in the epic poem called Rāmāyanā, which, Sir W. Jones says, "for unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far sur passes the learned and elaborate work of Nonnus, entitled Dionysiaca." Other authors assert that Rāmā is the son of *Cush:* this, however, is no place to go into a disquisition of the kind. For my part, I dare not venture an opinion, much less make an assertion, but leave it to the more learned —for instance, to the new "London Asiatic Society." The subject of Rāmā, or Boodh, and the Buddists, is so enveloped in obscurity, but still of such deep interest, that it is well worthy the attention of the learned and curious; for it is a religion that has spread far and wide; of which Fo in China was the chief; and which it is said is recognized in this country, at Stonehenge. Budha is represented with woolly and curled hair, and thick lips, supposed to be an Avatar of Vishnu, and who probably in former times was worshipped in more countries, and had more followers, than any sect or religion of the present day.

So much would not have been said in a notice of this kind, contrary to my former promise, but that he is here in company with those with whom he is mythologically connected. Opposite to him is

circumstance that where the war is displayed on the *right*-hand side of Great Keylas, immediately *above* Hanuman, stood the rocky *bridge* that joined *Paradise* (Keylas) to the rooms called at the present day *Lanca* or Ceylon.

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plain pillars, of the enormous girth at the centre of ten feet ten inches, placed in five ranges, having eight in each section. The ceiling, floor, walls, and pillars, are exceedingly well cut, perfect in their proportions, and of a fine polish. The height of this third story of Teen Tal, from the basement, gives it an air of fearful grandeur not to be met with even in Keylas, while viewing the country from the upper story. It has a profusion of light, and the fine staircases to both floors afford an easy ascent; so that it may be compared to a large house, only that the materials out of which it is formed are a *little more durable* than brick and mortar.

If we allow for the space occupied by floors of the two upper stories, the height of each story, and the forty-eight stairs, the height of this upper story cannot be much less than sixty feet from the area. I omitted to take the altitude, which might easily have been done by the plummet, but which I inconsiderately postponed—another instance of the result of deferring a task till to-morrow. Reader, is not this entire temple wonderful? or does it yield the palm to many places mentioned by Denon or Belzoni?

Still proceeding to the southward, the next excavation has two stories; it is large, and, like the last, in fine preservation. It has had lower apartments, but these are now filled up; the staircase

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is likewise choked up, and the entrance is by the wall of the viranda, where the accumulated fragments afford a stepping-place.

It is sincerely to be hoped, now that Elora and large tracts of the adjacent country have fallen into our possession, by the late treaty (signed subsequent to the Mahratta confederacy,) that some little attention will be bestowed on these truly wonderful monuments of antiquity. What service in the preservation of these temples would the employment of a body of thirty-five pioneers effect, in cutting a few water drains on the summit of the mountain or in altering its course where it is found injurious to the roofs, and in other matters necessary in preserving from decay these unrivalled excavations! We have pioneers not many miles distant, who, during part of their time, have little or no employment of a very urgent public nature. We have skilful officers attached to them, and eminent young engineer officers, who would rejoice in being so employed, and their services would be invaluable. One week's labour in some places would preserve a cave for two centuries longer! Time has made but little impression on many of them.

A powerful, scientific, and generous nation, like the English, ought not to allow any injury to happen to these mighty works, which can, by a very little trouble, and by incurring no expense, be prevented. If we do, we are barbarians, even

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worse than the Mussulmans; for we add canting professions and heartless lamentation to our regret. Affecting to venerate antiquities, and the monuments of a passed age and mighty people, it is our duty to endeavour to maintain, as far as we can, their original beauty and design; for while we esteem and admire these venerable and singular works, it becomes us imperatively to preserve them.

The Mahomedans and Portuguese are charged with having, from religious fanaticism, done their best to destroy these temples by powder. If we silently allow local causes to injure them, which may in a great measure be easily prevented, we are not a jot better than these barbarians, who had the candour openly to avow their intentions. When in possession of Holkar, the Mahratta prince (as was the case during my visit), the thing was impracticable. Now it is not; and I humbly implore the chief civil and military authorities, who may be stationed not far distant, to look to it. How much science and posterity will be indebted to them it is needless to urge. If they properly attend to these few hints, they will deserve well of their country.

This excavation, *Do Tal* (or two stories), is one of no particular beauty. It consists simply of two stories: the upper floor containing a recess, 33 feet by 10 feet 8 inches; the lower story, 102 feet 2 inches; and the breadth of the viranda within the

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pillars, 8 feet 6 inches. The area is 102 feet 6 inches long; the depth of which is 25 feet 6 inches. Sixteen steps lead to the upper story, which is 7 inches longer than the viranda below, being 103 feet 1 inch. It is 44 feet 4 inches deep from the viranda to the recess: the height of the apartment is 9 feet 6 inches. In the height of this excavation with the one we have just quitted, it loses greatly in appearance; and there are but a few sculptured figures here.

Rama Chandra reigns paramount, with his two brothers, Bhurtajee and Chuttughun. Of these two heroes I could gain no satisfactory elucidation. Although the temple was named after them, no mention is made of them in the Ramāyana, or among the Ramanauj (sectaries of Rama).

There are but few other figures here, and none of any note. The stairs are impassable, and very dilapidated; and what has been a lower or basement story is nearly choked up. You enter by stepping over a small outer wall of the viranda. The upper stories are, however, in good order. Rama's brothers, to whom the place is dedicated, give the name, but the common appellation appears to be Do Tal, or two stories. The execution and design of the recess in the temple are of an inferior order to those in the neighbouring Fane: this may perhaps be accounted for by the temple being dedicated to a deity of higher rank, or intended for more solemn purposes of religion. But

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whatever conclusion we may come to in speculating on the inferiority of one or two temples, or the skill and beauty displayed in the majority, we must allow, that more lasting or noble structures could not have been designed, to gratify either personal ambition, Brahmanical pride, or religious enthusiasm, than these durable and unfading monuments. Palaces will decay, bridges will fall, and the noblest structures must give way to the corroding tooth of time; whilst the caverned temples of Elora shall rear their indestructible and hoary heads in stern loneliness, the glory of past ages, and the admiration of ages yet to come.

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CHAPTER IX.

Arched Temple of Visvacarma—Conversation with an aged Brahman—Opinion on Sri Bhagvān, the Supreme—Opinions of Colonel Fitzclarence, Mrs. Graham, and Colonel Call.

We have but two more temples in this range: one of a totally different aspect and design from any we have hitherto seen. It is not the less interesting on that account; for it is a perfect and beautiful excavation, and deserving of the minutest inspection: a labour with which the traveller will be highly gratified. It is a singular and unique piece of incredible labour, and is enough of *itself* to stamp the glory of any country. Human industry and skill are here seen in unequalled perfection. This astonishing cavity is hewn out of the solid rock, penetrating 130 feet into it*; exhibiting a deep, spacious temple, having an arched or circular roof, a series of octangular pillars reaching down the whole length of the temple to the farther or eastern end, where stands an immense insulated hemispherical mass of rock, as an altar. In front of it are figures, as seen in the accompanying plate, which gives a correct view of the interior of the temple.

* Including the outer or front area.

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I have seen two other temples of a similar form to this one: the great temple at Karli, and that of Canarah, or Kenaree, on the island of Salsette. The present is a little inferior in dimensions to either of these excavations, but exactly similar in the ground-plan and general design. It has the arched roof, altar at the end, ranges of pillars (8 feet 1 inch and a half in girth), with a passage or small aisle (7 feet 9 inches broad) inside of them.

Karli and Canarah are evidently the production of the followers of Budha; and I believe that no doubt is entertained on that head, or that these two vaulted caves are of more recent date than the other. Their whole history, however, is involved in such a labyrinth of mystery from beginning to end, that there is not the most remote chance, by the deepest research, of arriving at any satisfactory data.

The first view at entering the Carpenter's hovel* presents a handsome vaulted chapel, elegantly finished, and well lighted from without; but as this general kind of description is rather too superficial for the importance of the temple, we will pursue our usual methodical course, and not do things by halves.

It has been, throughout, my most fervent desire

* *Joompree* is a hovel. *Visvacarma* was the artist of the gods —a kind of Vulcan, patronised by the Pandoos. Of this the reader will believe his share, no doubt—particularly when he hears that Visvacarma begat a monkey.

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to be as explanatory as possible, falling even into prolixity and tediousness in my narrative. Had I, however, said on each subject, and on others bearing or connecting therewith, all that *might* have been *added*, half a dozen quartos would not suffice. "Heaven forefend!" exclaims the critic.—"Amen," say I. I have strove, however, to omit nothing that might be interesting; nor have I set down aught that is wrong or very irrelative to my labours.

The area in front is 49 feet 6 inches square, and so close to the pathway, that shrubs are growing upon the very verge of it. There is a basement floor, or viranda, outside, and on three sides, 14 feet broad, having 12 pillars and 2 pilasters. The height of this viranda, or gallery, is 10 feet 4 inches: it communicates with the door at the entrance of the temple. This door is 8 feet 4 inches in height, and 4 feet in breadth. Over this entrance is a kind of vestibule, or gallery, 14 feet square, the outer face of which is richly and fancifully sculptured; and it is bounded at each end by the naked wall of the mountain, having in front a small wall, 3 feet high. From this singular gallery the view into the temple is very fine and complete. The ascent to the gallery is by a few steps from the lower viranda. It is impossible to determine to what use this gallery was applied: its commanding a view of the interior of the temple, and exteriorly of the area, leaves little

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doubt, however, of its being used, during former times of worship, for the votaries who were not permitted access to the sanctuary itself: a custom still prevalent at high festivals. As far as the accommodation of casual visitors is concerned, its situation and appearance incline one to think it has been a kind of orchestra, or music-gallery, to greet the company on their arrival. The large cylindrical drums, pipes, and bells now in use are usually placed *outside* the temples, at stated periods, to summon the people to worship, and they are also played on afterwards, during the time of prayers, or prostrations to the idol. To this purpose it is not unreasonable to suppose the gallery was applied. Be that as it may, it is a light, elegant apartment, very minutely and richly carved.

At the time of my visiting this temple, the gallery was occupied by an aged Brahman, with two attendants, who had arrived from a remote part of India to perform *puja* (worship). He was a fine hale old man, the very type of contentment, health, and vigour; of "a fine frosty old age," knowing nothing of the world, and caring as little about it. Absorbed in the perusal of some *Puranas* (Scriptures), and probably contemplating the fallen glories of the immortal Pandoos, he heeded not my entrance; and when he did, it was only, as he expressed it, to move a little further out of my way. The abstraction of Brahmans—

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their indifference to strangers—their mild and retired habits, were all claims not to become intrusive on his retirement; but, from his appearance, age, manners, and the respect paid him by his attendants, I was desirous of exciting his attention at first, and his acquaintance afterwards. Finding I had taken sketches of some of the gods, and was acquainted with their history, he became communicative and agreeable. With a benign look and graceful manner he answered many questions.

"His steps had sought each holy shrine,
By superstition deemed divine;
Whether he climbed the dizzy ghaut,
'Mid cavern'd wolds with terror fraught;
Or weary toil'd his noontide way,
O'er plains unsheltered from the ray.—
And he could boast of penance toil,
From *Lunka*, and *Ramessur's* isle,
To *Nassuck's* stream, or *Dwarka's* fane,
Where *Krishna* held his hallowed reign*."

No one knows better than the vegetable-eating, high-caste Brahman, bred up in peaceful seclusion in his own native village, unacquainted with excesses or vices, holy by inheritance, and studious by birth, how to interest and captivate a stranger. I allude to those unused to Mussulman cities, or those that are not contaminated by their intercourse with *polished* European nations,

* "Heera, Maid of the Dekhan;" written, I believe, by a friend of mine, Capt. V. of the Bengal army.

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who have done their best, by example and conduct, to demoralize a primitive, virtuous, and happy race of men.

The name of this temple, or vaulted chapel, is Visvacarma,—the architect who excavated the whole of these works, under the patronage of Vishnu and the Pandoos. As Visvacarma, the artificer of the gods, was a workman of great renown in former days, and of which his labours at Elora are *no very insignificant* specimen, a few lines, in elucidation of his history, will not be a very censurable digression. Visvacarma, or Biskurma, is the architect of Rama (another name for Vishnu); and, as this deity favoured the cause of the Pandoos, he was selected, not as the projector, but as the workman. He is the inspector of all manual labours and mechanical arts.

Of this chapel, excavated by Visvacarma, and whose image is supposed to be that in the front of the altar, a plate is furnished. By the aid of Congreve's fine lines, and the subjoined dimensions, the reader will have some idea of this beautiful chapel.

> " How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
> Whose ancient pillars rear their *rocky* heads
> To bear aloft its arch'd and pond'rous roof,
> By its own weight made stedfast and immovable!
> Looking tranquillity, it strikes an awe
> And terror to my aching sight."

Length to the wall in the rear of the altar, eighty

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feet: from the floor to the centre of the arch, thirty-five feet six inches: breadth from each boundary-wall, forty-four feet. Visvacarma is said to have built the celebrated and far-famed temple of Dwarka in Goojraat (Guzerat) at the instigation of the god Krishna*. This figure, in front of the great altar, has a kind of canopy spread over him, with his hands raised a little, the palms and fingers being closed up, as if in the act of meditation or prayer. He is supported on his right and left by two figures of Bheema and Ranga, and, by way of eminence, *Sri Ranga* (another name for Siva or Mhah Deo). These figures are not well finished. Some of the Brahmans said that Visvacarma was the representative of the Almighty, or God. As it is the only representation of *Him*, without symbols or mythological designation, I was particularly desirous to elicit the idea of those natives about me. They said that *He* was the maker of Brahma—the Great God, the first cause, invisible in appearance, and inconceivable in power. He was *Sri Bhagvān:* he was Narrayn, *Sri Narrayn*, "of *Him* whose glory is so great there is no image†." The idea of the Trimurti was rejected in this place; and He was the origin of matter—

* This temple was much frequented by pilgrims from the most distant parts of India, as I have (in 1812) witnessed. They are burnt on the arm with an iron-plate, containing mystical words, about two inches in diameter.

† Vedas.

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the all-pervading, all-seeing God, *Brahme*: in fact, he was all in all.

Those of whom I was inquiring were evidently inclined to wander into the boundless region of their own absurd and impenetrable superstition of Avatars or incarnations, by way of explaining *His* attributes and power; for without the aid of diffuse fable, or elaborate allegory, a Hindoo cannot give an answer to any question relating to their deities. In this instance, however, I had a reference very near, by way of comparison, in Ranga, one of their most powerful and venerated deities, whose image was close at hand. When I asked them which was the greater deity, they, one and all, exclaimed, "Maha Deo is but an agent, or a part of the Deity;" in other words, a small god, who did the biddings of the great *Brahme* in his destroying capacity. This definition was good as far as it went; for it was the opinion of the Brahmans, Fakeers, and anchorets who happened to be accompanying me at the time. I was generally attended by a dozen or a score of different orders of the *Religieux*.

The small figures represented over the entablature of the pillars were the favourite servants of Visvacarma, whom he thus honoured by giving them a station from which they might view the place they themselves had assisted in forming. I was very much inclined to be sacrilegious here, by purloining one of those pretty little sitting

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figures, which are, as pious servants ought to be, in the act of prayer, imitating the good example of their glorious master, the immortal architect Visvacarma. Two strong objections existed to my possessing one of these figures: first, the Brahmans would not allow of my taking away one: and, if they had, there would have been *much* difficulty in separating it from the parent rock. Had I succeeded, my prize would have been surely as valuable and as curious as some of the unintelligible fragments brought over from Italy, which often puzzle the wisest to know, not only what they are, but what they were ever intended to represent; nor would I have exchanged one of Visvacarma's servants, perfect and neatly finished as they are, for some of the shapeless and unmeaning fragments that in a few places adorn the lower statuary room of the British Museum.

From the sides of the roof project small beams of rock, or rafters, arched, and extending over the whole of the orbicular roof. They are about seven inches thick; and the entire breadth is ribbed in this way. In the great temple at Karli these rafters are of wood—*there* for what purpose intended it is useless even to conjecture: they are too slender to afford any strength to the incumbent rock, although it gives an appearance of solidity. Where so much pains has been bestowed to make all parts of the excavations perfect, beautiful, and correspondent in their parts, it is not idly presuming

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to say that in *this* excavation, so different in form from the rest in design, the artist, in his fancy, conceived these rafters would be a novel addition, and give it a similar appearance to other arched roofs constructed of more friable materials. However, as the subject of arches and the pointed style of architecture is a secondary consideration, neither within my reach nor inclination, the discussion must be left to more competent judges.

It has been asserted that *this* arched-roof temple, with its immense altar and the figure of Visvacarma, was dedicated to Budha, and is of more *recent* date than the other excavations in the same range. I can perceive no satisfactory grounds for the latter assertion. However applicable such an idea may be, as far as Budha is concerned, at the temples at Karli and at Canarah, it does not hold valid at this chapel, which, though like those two temples in the general design, contains figures well known previously to the era of Budha, appertain also to other Avatars than Budha; and in the temples at Elephanta, Budha is easily ascertained by the emblems about him; and indeed, he is seen with a flame of fire issuing from the top of his head *. The lotos is generally found near him: sometimes he is sitting on it. He has always thick lips and

* At the temple of Amboulee he is similarly represented. There the roof is *flat*, and there is no circular stone-altar. The ears are elongated and pierced. In most images of Budha, *flame* is one of his attributes, as representing the *sun*.

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curly hair, and often sitting cross-legged, in the act of prayer. It does not follow, though it may at first sight appear feasible enough, that because Budha presides as the permanent deity at Canarah and Karli, which are temples of similar design to this in almost every thing, that he should be supreme here, the figures being widely different in appearance, or that the temple should be dedicated to his particular service; for if this is the inference, on account of the respective designs of the temple, what becomes of the argument when we find Budha in his original appearance, with his attributes, symbols, &c. in the *flat*-roof temples of Elephanta and Amboulee, where, likewise, deities of the Brahmanical creed are sculptured close to him? I have no hesitation in according with the generally received opinion, that Bhudism flourished long after the persecutions caused by the introduction of the Brahmanical doctrines on the whole of Western India; and that, in consequence, its influence and power were greatly shaken in the interior of Hindoostan. Ceylon, all the sea-coast north, including Guzerat, still maintained the doctrines and reformation introduced by Bhuda, who, Sir William Jones thinks, "revised the dogmas of the Vedas," much to the dissatisfaction of the Brahmans. Hence the persecution that followed.

Bhudism would be the milder religion of the two, if sacrifices were abolished, and other modifi-

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cations made in their sanguinary code. It is necessary however to prove, that Bhud or Budha is the last, or ninth Avatar.

At the present day it is, perhaps, doubtful if the followers of Bhud are not almost as numerous as Christians. It is the national faith of China, part of Hindoostan, Thibet, Ceylon, Cochin China, Japan, and in parts of Siam. This is a subject, however, upon which much has been said by very able writers, both Englishmen and foreigners; but I could not well, while in a temple said to be dedicated to him, pass over it in perfect silence. To go farther into the subject would be unnecessarily swelling my pages. The wisest have arrived at no positive conclusion as to the origin, antiquity, and history of Bhudism: how then can I? A good account of Bhudism by one who has resided in India, having a *perfect* acquaintance with the ancient languages, possessing local knowledge gained at the place where Bhudism still flourishes, would be a great desideratum in literature.

A work has been written of late years, professedly on the antiquities of India; and although the author was positively within one hundred and fifty miles of Elora, with every facility at his command, he did not proceed thither, notwithstanding Indian antiquities and researches occupied his time at the very moment. For myself I have only to say, that I went the journey for the express purpose, unsupported, unpatronized, unaided, a dreary dis-

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tance of nearly three hundred miles, at a considerable expense, and remained at Elora fourteen days. Being then but young in the service, and in rank only an ensign, the undertaking was attended with obstacles, and was, besides, rather of an expensive description. While at Elora, I spared no pains or inquiries to accomplish the object of my journey, and kept in constant mind the observation of Mr. Locke: "We see a little, presume a good deal, and so jump to the conclusion."

We will now, however, draw to a conclusion of our account of Visvacarma, as nothing more detains us: and whether the founders were Brahmans or Bhudhists, they equally deserve our praise for this admirable excavation. If it is singular in figure, it yields nothing in beauty or finishing to proud Keylas itself, whose majestic elevation and insulated position alone give it the palm of pre-eminence.

In speaking of Keylas, and the temples that adjoin it on each side, I have not particularized the vast variety of minor ornaments, carvings, devices, and representations, that in boundless profusion decorate the statues, walls, pillars, and ceilings; nor the attitudes of the smaller figures, the multiplicity of drapery work, or the different weapons, instruments, and emblems, that are scattered about either in the compartments or near them. No one but a man combining the talents of an architect, professed draftsman, and statuary, could do them

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justice, with almost half a dozen plans and views of each to convey a faithful description of these wonders: in short, to appreciate their merit and beauty with true feelings of satisfaction and delight, we must see them; but as that is impossible to my countrymen at home, or to Europeans in general, a faithful narrative from personal observation, enriched, as far as a man's abilities will allow him to go, is certainly of some consideration.

So *many* books have been published about Roman and Grecian antiquities, in all ages, in all styles, and in all languages, that the author of this work will not meet with much reprehension in publishing his *solitary* account of the temples of Elora; for such it certainly is, no book having ever been written professedly and distinctly on the subject. That it has been briefly mentioned by travellers will be seen hereafter. I have never written much, nor need I tell the reader I do not write well; but still I conceive there is some intrinsic worth in this account of Elora, if intrinsic worth be allowed to that which possesses accuracy and undeviating fidelity; and that is some satisfaction to a soldier, should other merits be denied him.

Our detention here will not be long; for the next, and endmost, excavation of the range, is easily despatched. I had no opportunity of either inspecting it with any accuracy, or taking its dimensions; it was inhabited by a small colony, and, to judge by clothes hanging out to dry, not destitute

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of females and children. The respectable Brahman, whom I had met with in the balcony of Visvacarma's temple (where he had taken up his residence), informed me it was frequented by persons diseased and impure, who came to solicit benefits of Siva. The men whom I saw about were of that sect or class (Saivas), as might be seen by their *tiluk*, or sacerdotal mark on the forehead and shoulders. I likewise observed two or three lepers, and one or two afflicted with cutaneous disorders, and, as usual, I was pestered for medicine and advice. The former was of very little use without the latter. My reply generally was, if Māhā Deo could not cure them, how was it possible I could? This evasion was ineffectual, as they replied he (Māhā Deo) would not, on account of their sins and negligences. The great majority of this sect of Fakeers know little or nothing of their own gods; yet, from custom and ignorance, they put implicit faith in them. Already has Budha given way to Brahma; and the latter has also been shaken by the violent schism introduced by the celebrated reformer Nānick, principally in the Panjeāb country (five waters), where he successfully proclaimed the unity of the godhead, admitted proselytes, abolished sacrifices, &c. These people are now generally called Sikhs, which I believe signifies disciples, and are firmly established. We may, therefore, hope, by mild and proper measures, good management, establishment

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of large colleges, diffusion of general science, and instructing the children of the rich, to see some reformation take place in the sanguinary rites of the Hindoos.

The Brahman whom I have just mentioned requested me not to enter this cave farther than the entrance; and, as I wished to have some conversation, I complied with his request. By the respect paid to him, his dress, and manners, he was undoubtedly a man of some consequence; he had come for religious purposes to Elora. I had much talk with him; but a conversation between a Brahman and an officer is an every-day occurrence in India, and would not be interesting to the English reader. He had read a good deal about his own tenets and belief; he was metaphysical, and possessed a good portion of subtlety: like all Brahmans, a great stickler for his own absurd dogmas. As a descendant of Brahma, probably he was right in upholding his own divine origin, which Brahmans always will do as long as the subservient castes of Hindoos firmly believe in, and submit to, their ascendancy.

As to the temples, he was not certain whether they were all the work of the Pandoos; but it was his firm belief that they assisted in Visvacarma's labours, and that Vishnu favoured them with his mighty power. "It was impossible," he observed, "that men could make any thing of the kind;" these were literally his words: he further added,

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that he had heard there were similar works to these in Misr (Egypt). I replied, more for the purpose of controversy than information, that they (the Egyptians and Hindoos) were one and the same people. This he utterly rejected, and that, too, with much displeasure, on account of the Egyptians eating meat: he further observed, that before the coming of Scander, or Secunder (Alexander), all the country was Bharata, and the people Hindivee, from the Brahmā putrā (Burampooter) river, to the Nil-āb (blue water); the Sind, or Indus* river, which was all a Brahmanical† government and country. That invasion, and the disasters attending it, were followed by the mur-

* Hence, probably, the word Ind or Indus. Indra and Indranee are two important personages in the Hindoo mythology. Hindoostan is a corruption; *stan* is a Persian word, signifying a country. Hind and Sind are said to be two of the sons of Ham, son of Noah (Noo); the latter is Satyavrata of the Hindoo chronology. It will, perhaps, be said, that Chandra, the moon (a *male* deity likewise), is named Indu, and that Scanda is another name of Karticyea. This is freely admitted; it in nowise shakes the preceding remarks about Indus, or the name of Alexander.

† I believe no Hindoo, under heavy penalties, is permitted to cross the Indus: a forfeiture of caste follows, and many heavy penances, ere he recovers his rank in society. If wealthy, he is severely fined. Some former ambassadors, who proceeded on political missions to Persia from the Poona court were, on their return, notwithstanding their rank and the public duties they had gone on, fined in large sums, and had to make donations and presents, besides undergoing several penances, before their caste would receive them back.

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derous incursions and subjugation of Bharata by the Mooslims (Mahomedans), who ravaged and destroyed every thing. In after years the Portuguese came, said he, a wretched people, whom all nations hate, devastating the sea-coasts, oppressing the Hindoos worse than the Mussulmans ever did; even taxing their sectarial mark, and the sacerdotal thread (or zennar); impaling them in their inquisitions, forcing them to become Christians, and in their temples painting their European angels and devils above and directly upon their chief idols*. So beautifully is this persecution expressed

* I am borne out in the assertions of my friend the Brahman, by what I have myself known, and even witnessed at the Portuguese city of old Goa, which I have repeatedly visited, and partially resided in. At an excavated subterranean Hindoo temple on Salsette, which I believe I had the merit of discovering, an old Portuguese church, built in the year 1614, with the initials B S I A, stands directly on the roof of the poor Hindoos' humble temple; and over the sculptured idols, very well painted, were several Portuguese angels and saints; with a place of confinement for refractory Brahmans, the iron rails of which in part remained. Lord Valentia (vol. ii. p. 196) in speaking of the Canarah temple at Salsette, says—

"Its peculiar ornaments are two gigantic figures of Boodh, nearly twenty feet high, each filling one side of the vestibule; they are exactly alike, and are in perfect preservation, in consequence of their having been christened and painted red by the Portuguese, who left them as an appendage to a Christian church, for such this temple of Boodh became under their transforming hands."

I believe the Portuguese called these two figures St. Christophers!

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by one of the best of our modern poets, Mr. Campbell, that I offer no apology for its insertion.

"Raged o'er your plunder'd shrines and altars bare,
With blazing torch and gory scimetar;
Stunn'd with the cries of death each gentle gale,
And bathed in blood the verdure of the vale:
Yet could no pangs the immortal spirit tame,
Where Brāhma's children perish'd for his name."

Now, to conclude, observed the Brahman, the English priests are endeavouring to convert the Hindoos. Of these, however, he spoke well: he had heard they were good men, quiet men (*g'urreeb*), or rather placid and humble, and that they were all pious and often learned. This digression is in substance, nearly verbatim, the chief part of our conversation. As I have endeavoured to give it as concisely as possible, its insertion may not be superfluous in the opinion of the general reader, though I am apprehensive it will not suit the taste of the antiquary or critic. Should such be the case, my brevity in thus condensing three hours' conversation ought to plead my pardon.

I had purposely sent away, on a frivolous pretence, my own Brahman, that his presence might not influence my new friend's ideas and reasonings, or hamper our conversation with his remarks. The Brahman afforded me but a brief account of this excavation, which is named the Dehr Warra, or Hallalcore's quarter, literally signifying the re-

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sidence of sweepers; who perform daily the basest offices about the houses of the great, where one or two are usually kept, as domestic servants in English families. Here, I imagine, the meaning is not quite so debased as in the native markets or bazars, where the quarter occupied by the liquor-sellers, venders of opium, the dancing-girls, courtesans, &c. is called the Hallalcore-ki-jugger, and is the residence of those termed Matā, Pariah (Purwarree), Dehr, Hallalcore, Bungay, and Frosts; all of low caste, defiled from their birth, impure from their profession, and excluded by their sect from all communion with even Hindoos of a low caste. This Brahman would not even go near the contaminated spot.

I proceeded to the entrance of the principal excavation, which possesses some beauty, and contains a figure standing at the end of a passage, which is formed by two high benches of solid stone, that appear to run parallel the whole length of the apartment. On these benches many persons were then sitting. There were some smaller apartments connected therewith, but they being tenanted, I made no effort to enter them; nor did these smaller caves appear deserving of much notice, at least not after the splendid works which we have seen, although in another place they would be thought objects of some curiosity, particularly the large cave. But how can we estimate these minor efforts after the glories of Keylas, Teen Tal,

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and Visvacarma's temple! Assuming this, how then shall we be able to afford a just share of praise in exploring and contemplating the temples in the northern range (beyond Keylas), which are yet to be visited; and which greatly surpass in the taste of their minute ornaments; in the accuracy and delicacy of the chiseling; in the tasteful beauty of the scroll-work; in drapery variously and richly carved; in light and pretty devices; and in their wondrous magnitude and boldness of design,—excelling all but Keylas in the exquisite, masterly, and diversified style in which they are finished.

True, the southern series rivets our attention while inspecting their solidity, immensity, and perfect execution; but those that we are now about visiting, for their elegant, neat, beautiful, and airy forms (yielding nothing in massiveness and size), excite more intensely our earnest admiration and wonder: in fact, all is wonder here. Scooped and scraped out of the parent rock, to which they, in all their original grandeur, still adhere, and are an integral part of; their walls, roofs, and floors being coeval with the creation; here they still stand in all the pride and majesty in which they first started, seeming as if

> "The womb of earth
> Shrunk whence such mighty quarries thence had birth."

Should it be said that my enthusiasm has biassed my judgment, and that I am not warranted in these

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warm encomiums, I will, before we proceed further in our survey, give the authority of others; premising, that I believe there is only one distinct account of Elora ever published, which occupies forty pages of the Asiatic Researches, a miscellaneous quarto work published by a society of gentlemen of Calcutta.

This highly respectable society consists chiefly of gentlemen of literary taste, and who are well disposed towards science, and several of them are excellent oriental scholars, but they have all public functions and duties to perform, which abstract their attention greatly*. In short, there are no idle persons in India to go over the country for the purpose of writing tours, or investigating the antiquities, history, &c. of that very interesting country. Long and wearisome journeys, relaxing both mind and body, are a great obstacle to literary pursuits. Those persons who have the inclination, and possess the requisite abilities, have arduous public services to perform. It is inconceivable what trouble and fatigue attend a journey of only

* Those who have distinguished themselves by either essays or works on India have, to my certain knowledge, done it at the expense of their comfort and quiet. My friend the late Colonel Colin Mackenzie (surveyor-general) was a victim to science. That excellent man had (of mine) several large valuable drawings, some done by myself, and some given to me. I find, by the papers, his executors have sold his collection to the Court of Directors, and with it my drawings, &c.

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fifty miles in India; and from the insalubrity of the climate it is not always unattended with danger. We have no professors of arts or sciences in India to exert themselves, as in Europe, in the field of literature; nor have we young collegians, whose literary attainments and idle time afford them so many eligible opportunities of prosecuting their labours. Oftentimes, in England, gentlemen of education and fortune devote their time in gratifying the taste of their countrymen, by writing interesting travels, &c. This may proceed from a wish on their part to change the scene of residence, or fill up idle hours by study and research. Neither of these things act as stimulants in India: there man generally wishes to be quiet and retired, and under the "*tedium vitæ*," he solaces himself with the idea of acquiring a small competence to enable him again to return to his dear native country. In no part of the world does the *amor patriæ* exist with more fervency than in India*.

Our government does not, as the French did in Egypt, with their public Institute and numerous *savants*, employ learned or scientific persons to illustrate the history, or prosecute scientific researches;

* One serious admonition to my friends there:—never come home poor and friendless; 'twere better to stop and die; for how good and virtuous soever they may be, they will find England a perfect desert and a purgatory. I cannot too earnestly impress this on the minds of my brethren in India.

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and, I fear, without extensive, accurate, and continued inquiries by competent persons *on the spot*, darkness, with regard to a good knowledge of India, will be of long continuance, notwithstanding the exertions of the French and London Asiatic Societies, the local societies in India, and the lively interest the German literati have taken in the cultivation of the Sanscrit language, and in its dissemination.

These observations will in part explain why we know so little of India; and I further have to observe, without meaning to make an invidious or ill-natured remark, that four-fifths of the people of Great Britain know little or nothing about that country, not even so much as they do of South America, with which we are neither socially nor morally connected; and this is one of the principal reasons why I have occasionally been more diffuse and explanatory throughout my little narrative than I otherwise should have been.

To show that my panegyric is not undeserved, and that I have not been led away by a fanciful imagination, I now adduce what others say. Sir Charles Mallet, Bart. then ambassador at the court of the Peishwa, observes, in his prefatory address to Sir John Shore, Bart. (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), President of the Asiatic Society, under date Poonah, 22d December, 1794:

"Whether we consider the design, or contemplate the execution of these extraordinary works,

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we are lost in wonder at the idea of forming a vast mountain into almost eternal mansions. The mythological symbols and figures throughout the whole leave no room to doubt their owing their existence to religious zeal,—the most powerful and most universal agitation of the human mind." Speaking of Keylas, Sir Charles says, "This wonderful place is approached more handsomely than any of the foregoing." Of Visvacarma, he observes, "This excavation, in beauty, is inferior to none; in form it is unique, and in design elegant." The account of all is very concise, occupying, as before observed, only forty-two pages of large type, and with a considerable margin. It is true, he speaks in terms of panegyric of them all; and who could help doing so?

Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence, in his journey across India (with public despatches), notices them *en passant*. His description occupies twenty pages of a quarto with a large margin (a modern and censurable innovation in the craft and mystery of book-making). The Colonel observes, enraptured with the objects before him, "Having returned, though dreadfully fatigued, I will not permit my feelings to pass away without recording them on a more secure tablet than that of my memory. My eyes and mind are absolutely satiated with the wonders I have seen: the first are weary with objects so gigantic and extraordinary, to which they were totally unaccustomed, and the latter has been

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so much on the stretch, being crowded and overwhelmed with ideas so overpowering and various, that I despair of ever forming any calm judgment upon them. The gross superstition, the cause of their formation, becomes even respectable and venerable, from the admiration which I experienced of these early and stupendous works of human genius, of unremitting toil and perseverance. I felt a sensation of gratitude, and almost of esteem, towards the religion which had effected a labour so immense and remarkable. Every thing around me spoke of other times, of individuals, nations, and arts, long since passed away; and I took a hurried view of the present state of India, looking in vain for any class of men great, or, I may almost say, omnipotent, enough to venture on so prodigious an undertaking; a work which has successfully withstood the barbarous attempts of the Mahometans, and outlived the name or era of its founder, which is hidden in the most remote antiquity. The Brahmins and the Hindoo nations, in their original purity, long before our era, who had here concentrated their religious institutions and power, and made the very mountains subservient to their superstitions, and the various changes which had taken place throughout India within the last two thousand years, all passed with the velocity of a vision; and as I stood in Keylas, casting a rapid glance, from those ages concealed in impenetrable darkness, in which the stupendous

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monuments of art before me had arisen, down to the present moment, I sought in vain for any incident in the lapse of time which could convey an equal conception of the power of man over matter."

Again, speaking of the temples, the Colonel says, "Some of the sculptured decorations, and the taste in the ornaments, would do credit to the best period of the Grecian school, though in general an evidently uncultivated style of architecture predominates; and the irregular shapes and devices on the shafts of the pillars, with their plain capitals, in the principal temple, are, in my opinion, more rich than the plain Grecian pillar with its ornamented capital, though not so chaste. The fluting of the Corinthian order is but a poor attempt of this description. Some of the minute ornaments are even classical."

"In the lower parts of sculpture, applicable to architectural ornaments, the Hindû chisel has, perhaps, seldom been surpassed; its light and airy foliage, its elegant volutes, and the variety of its subjects, vie at once with Italian art and Gothic fancy, to which last style it has, indeed, occasionally a remarkable likeness."—Thus writes Mrs. Graham, the authoress of two interesting books on India, but who never visited Elora, although she has Karli and Elephanta. In corroboration of what I myself have advanced, I have given the authority of a lady of talent, of a soldier, and of a civilian,

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and will close with that of a former chief engineer at Madras.

"It may be safely pronounced (says Colonel Call), that no part of the world has more marks of antiquity for arts, sciences, and civilization, than the peninsula of India, from the Ganges to Cape Comorin. I think the carvings on some of the pagodas and choultries *, as well as the grandeur of the work, exceed any thing executed now-a-days, not only for the delicacy of the chisel, but the expense of construction, considering in many instances to what distances the component parts were carried, and to what heights raised."—*Philosophical Transactions*, p. 354, vol. xlii.

* Choultries in general are large, open stone buildings; they are mostly placed near tanks of water in villages for the accommodation of travellers, and are built at the expense of liberal-minded natives. In the Carnatic and Mysore, I met with them at almost every stage.

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CHAPTER X.

Northern Range of Temples—Their Aspect—Temple of Jugnät —Personal Narrative—Bhudism—Letter to Aurungzebe— Temple of Adnaut—Residence at the Caves.

If the Hallalcores' habitation, which we have just quitted, is designated by the basest of names, the first excavation, or the one situated at the northern extremity of the range, has an appellation of the highest order, being dedicated to no less a personage than Juggut-Naut, or Jugnät (Jagernaut) the Lord of the Creation. From this temple *, to the one at the extremity of the southern range, is considerably upwards of a mile, being nearly, as I could ascertain by measurement, about one mile and three hundred and fifty yards. The ground in some places is a good deal

* Since the foregoing remarks were first penned, a rich Hindoo has died, and left about 35,000*l.* towards making a road from *Casi*, (*Benares*) the holy city, to the celebrated temple of Jagernaut, in Orissa. As we have a line of military communications in the route, and military cantonments in the neighbourhood, it is very useful for guns, artillery, carts, &c.; but as *Jack* (the familiar name he has got from us) has fallen off in his sanctity and repute, the money otherwise might have been better bestowed by the devout Hindoo. In 1820, I believe, there were no human victims, and when I was there in 1821, in my journey from Nagpoor to Calcutta, the number of votaries was reduced a fourth; nor were sufficient numbers procurable voluntarily to drag his ponderous clumsy car.

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broken, indented with channels, formed by the water precipitating over the crown of the mountain, where some passages to drain off the water have been cut. The part along our intended journey to the northern end of the mountain, is by no means so good as the one to the south: in fact, it is in some places rather difficult from broken fragments, the accumulation of ages, and a luxuriant and unchecked vegetation of brushwood, brambles, and weeds, often choking up the foot-path, which in some parts is broad, and in others devious and steep.

The series of excavations is nearly west, and all I have seen at Salsette, Elephanta, and Karli, are similarly circumstanced, being placed facing the setting sun, to which Shakspeare probably alludes in the following lines:

> "Thus, Indian-like,
> Religious in mine error, I adore
> The sun that looks upon his worshipper,
> And thinks of him no more."

The variation from due west does not exceed two points. The area in front of the temple is nearly filled up with pieces of the fallen rock. After passing over this is the entrance to the lower story of the excavation, which is nearly closed up by rubbish, but is sufficiently clear of obstruction to show that it has been a good room. The principal apartment in the upper story is an oblong square, ascended by an unbroken flight of

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steps from the right hand corner. No excavation, on the whole, is more richly or variously carved than this temple. The ceiling is supported by twelve pillars; they occupy nearly the centre of the room, and are placed equi-distant, forming an oblong square. Eight of these pillars have square shafts, and are in girth ten feet ten inches; the other four in the centre columns are less in circumference, being nine feet eight inches, at the base four feet nine inches: these four are beautifully fluted and tastefully decorated with wreaths and garlands of flowers. The length of this inner square is thirty-four feet two inches. On the capitals are beams, resting and crossing each other, as if intended to sustain the weight of the roof: they are larger in size than those in the great hall at Keylas. The four columns in the centre add greatly to the beauty of the room, not more from their rich embellishments, than from being of a different figure. The length of this apartment is fifty-eight feet; its height thirteen feet five inches to the ceiling, and the entire breadth is forty-seven feet five inches; the recess fifty-six feet by thirty-four feet: the whole is richly decorated with carving. The viranda, or outer front, which supports the roof, is about fifty feet in height from the basement. The superincumbent rock is supported by four columns, the two end ones being partly hid in the perspective: these have the rounded capitals, but not so flattened as others that have

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been described. Their chapiters are handsomely fluted, and the capitals, like the centre ones, are surmounted by lions rampant; the stone beam extending from the inner apartment, reaching to their shoulders. The outer front of the viranda is completely covered with figures of lions, persons kneeling, and serpents *, and the whole front above the ground floor appears as if resting on the backs of four elephants. Surely the ingenuity of the workmen who *hollowed out* these temples was only equalled by their unwearied industry, both impelled by an invincible spirit of religious enthu-

* Researches are no where to be made into Pagan mythology without meeting with this symbol, the serpent; whether we examine the fables of Hindostan, Persia, Egypt, or Greece. The two half zodiacs are typified by two serpents. Frequently the whole circle by one serpent. In erecting their imaginary celestial architecture, the idolaters, where they replaced the signs, were sufficiently consistent to do so by figures, which had a parallel hieroglyphic import. Thus the preying eagle took the place of the scorpion, which it again ceded to Typhon, the principle of evil. It cannot, therefore, surprise us, that the Pagans should avail themselves of the periodical change of skin in the serpent, of the seeming renovation of youth in that animal, to symbolize the zodiac, or allegorical history of the world's existence. They considered the universe destined to dissolution by fire, a phœnix which had already perished more than once; and that as often as it arose from its ashes, the events which had before taken place were repeated. Perhaps this repetition constituted the heathen idea of eternity. The cobra capella, or hooded snake, being unknown in Africa, except as a hieroglyphic, it may be concluded (as also from other arguments) that the Egyptians were the depositaries, not the inventors of their mythological attainments.

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siasm; for every step we go, and every inch of rock we see, has some beauty or curiosity to attract attention and fix admiration.

This viranda is a light and cheerful apartment, though venerable from its remote antiquity. It has nothing of the gloomy magnificence of Keylas, the height and immensity of Teen Tal, or the neat appearance of Visvacarma's chapel. It is an apartment unrivalled by any of our frail modern tenements of Europe. Here could I pass my days in peace with the world, and in happy exclusion from its bustle, its ingratitude, its dishonesty, and its cruelty, consoling myself with the observation of Cicero—"The calm and soothing remembrance of a life passed with quiet, honour, and perseverance." No place could be better adapted to study and deep seclusion; and as to society, what is it but a name, a shadow? Nay, the poet asks,

> "And what is *friendship*, but a name—
> A charm that lulls to sleep—
> A shade that follows wealth or fame,
> And leaves the wretch to weep?"

This is the opinion of one who had felt what he wrote. In these monastic retreats, with my books —unknown to the world, and not knowing it—enjoying by study and devotion "that peace of mind which passeth all understanding," and which an intercourse with the world, however refined and choice, cannot give: here, buried in undisturbed retirement, living in the most glorious mansions in

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the world, I would exclaim with the first Scipio—"Never less idle than when at leisure—never less alone than when alone." With a vegetable diet, the pure water from the fine cisterns of Elora, astronomical instruments, and books, man might here be comparatively happy—"the world forgetting, by the world forgot;" though now and then, perchance, thinking about the happiness of his native country. Such were my cogitations, on a delightful day, in the front viranda of this splendid temple dedicated to the Lord of the Creation.

As we have occasionally, in some modern books, a dozen pages dedicated to more puerile and equally superfluous subjects, my one solitary page may not therefore be highly reprobated. Personal narrative at Jagernaut is, however, rather out of place, as a far greater personage than myself occupies a niche in this temple—I mean Bhud, or Budha himself; and hence, perhaps, the name of the excavation. I am not, however, to have it forced down my throat by those who have written works on mythology, but who never were at Elora, and others that have been in each temple there not above an hour, unacquainted at the same time with the language, as well as with the history of the Hindoos, that, because a temple has an arched roof, and a large circular stone altar at its extremity, it is a Bhudist temple: something more cogent must be adduced than these bare speculations.

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Jagernaut is but another name for Chrishna or Vishnu, and that Bhud is an Avatar of the latter is admitted on all sides. Then why is this temple, with its *flat* roof, and its name of Jugnäut, not a temple of Budha—particularly when the corresponding opinion of several Brahmans and others, learned and unlearned, whom I afterwards severally and separately questioned, affirmed that the image was Budha, or Bhud, and many of the figures his attendants and servants? The same question I put to others, who accompanied me on a subsequent visit; and though they had not seen my anxiety, they gave similar testimony. The question, in fact, stands thus: One gentleman has made the assertion, and others think proper to follow in the same track.

The principal figures in this apartment are representatives of Bhud and his celestial followers. Jugnäut, or, as the Brahmans would have him called, Budha, is represented larger than life, in a sitting posture, cross-legged, with his hands in his lap, placed over each other. Two figures near him are said to portray *Vidjee* and *Bijee*, about whom some difference of opinion existed among the Brahmans. Near the recess are two other figures, *Sud** and *Bhud:* there are several others, sculptured representations of the same persons, but of a more diminutive size; they have the *curled hair*, and for the most part are *naked*, as Budha and his attendants usually are seen. The ceiling of the large

* Others said *Sudhana*, a son of Budha.

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apartment, as well as of the outer front, or viranda, has been plastered and beautifully painted, as may be still seen by the almost perfect remains, and which is far superior in execution to any thing I have seen of modern date done either by Hindoo or Mussulman, particularly an elegant scroll of flowers on the ceiling. Some of the pillars and parts of the halls have come in for their share of ornamental embellishments. On scraping off a part of the *chunam*, the furrows of the chisel are very plainly to be seen. Some painted figures on the ceiling, that I could not make out, the Brahman said were meant for Budha, and that he was the Lord paramount, the Māhā-Māhā Deo, the Great, Great God. It is not often that a Brahman will utter the name of the innovator (Budha): here, however, they did, and I beg to observe that no admission of the *same kind* could I extract from them in my subsequent visits to Visvacarma's *arched* temple.

The painting and chunam have been greatly injured and defaced, and a heavy charge was brought against Aurungzebe for having wilfully endeavoured to destroy this excavation, by trying to blow it up with gunpowder; but, failing in his monstrous purpose, he actually had recourse to the *vile* profanation of slaughtering a *cow**, the most

* This was not admitted by all the Brahmans. Some went cheerfully into the temple, while others, with loathing and horror, declined entering the defiled place.

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sacred of animals, within the walls of this holy fane.

Were it not for pitying the feelings of the narrators of the impious act ascribed to Aurungzebe, I should have laughed at the strange and piteous contortions of countenance and lamentable groans of the assembled groupe, that at one visit surrounded me. When unaccompanied by crime, religious zeal is always respectable, to whatever class it may belong. My auditors (I having become speaker in my turn, and read to them part of the annexed letter) said, that if Aurungzebe actually did not commit the atrocious act himself, he allowed his court, which, being held but a short distance off, at Aurungabad, the temples were constantly visited and insulted by his minions.

It is well known that Aurungzebe, upon state emergencies, or in his multifarious exactions (for no eastern monarch personally was ever more avaricious), squeezed his Hindoo subjects most unmercifully. The fanaticism of a religious Mahomedan is proverbial; and no men, when in affluence or possessing power, are more vicious, debauched, and tyrannical than Mussulmans; I mean of course in their native provinces, not at the capitals; where our example and presence have done much to check their turbulence and pride. *Rajah Jessunt Sing*, who died in 1678, thus addressed Aurungzebe*. It is so well written,

* In the Persian language.

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and of itself so curious a document, that I shall offer no apology for giving it entire. Not one in twenty has ever heard of Jessunt Sing, although Aurungzebe is better known by his victories and power; for even Somerville has transmitted his name to posterity in the poem of "The Chase."

"All due praise* be rendered to the glory of the Almighty, and the munificence of your majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although I, your well-wisher, have separated myself from your sublime presence, I am nevertheless zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the kings, nobles, mirzas, rajahs, and roys, of the provinces of Hindostan, and the chiefs of Æraun, Turaun, Room, and Shawn, the inhabitants of the seven climates, and all persons tra-

* By the way, as I am desirous of giving as much information as I can, there are events in Aurungzebe's life, and in that of his opponent the Hindoo Sevajee, which, in the present taste for spectacle, might be well dramatized without the aid of much fiction. Processions of Faquirs and Brahmans, Views of Elora, of Aurungabad, and of the extraordinary fortress of Dowlatabad, with one of Aurungzebe's magnificent hunts; the pageantry of a Mogul army, &c. the rebellion of one of Aurungzebe's brothers, and his persecutions of the Hindoos, &c. being the ground-work;—something more probable and interesting than the "Cataract of the Ganges," though there I recognize in Jam Sahib, the Jam Rajah (or *Jesserjée* of *Noa-Nuggar*) whose fort we invested in 1812, under Colonel Lionel Smith.

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velling by land and by water. This my inclination is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and your majesty's condescension, I presume to solicit the royal attention to some circumstances, in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly interested.

"I have been informed, that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your well-wisher; and that you have ordered a tribute to be levied to satisfy the exigencies of your exhausted treasury.

"May it please your majesty, your royal ancestor Mahomed Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus, or of Moses, or David, or Mahomed; were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour; insomuch that his people, in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggut Grow (Guardian of Mankind.)

"His majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehangeer, likewise, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a period of twenty-two years, the

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shadow of his protection over the heads of his people; successful by a constant fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm in business.

"Nor less did the illustrious Shâh Jehân, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue.

"Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors. Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles, wheresoever they directed their steps, conquest and prosperity went before them; and then they reduced many countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the empire, and farther loss of territory must necessarily follow, since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indigence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his princes, what can be the condition of his nobles? As to the soldiery, they are in murmurs; the merchants complaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindoos destitute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation.

"How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved, who employs his power in exacting heavy

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tributes from a people thus miserably reduced? At this juncture, it is told from east to west, that the emperor of Hindostan, jealous of the poor Hindoo devotee, will exact a tribute from Brahmins, Sanorahs, Joghies, Berawghies, Sonassees; that, regardless of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he condescends to exercise his power over the solitary inoffensive anchoret. If your majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in his presence. Distinctions of colour are of his ordination. It is he who gives existence. In your temples, to his name the voice is raised in prayer: in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still he is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, Presume not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of Power Divine.

"In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to justice; it is equally foreign from good policy, as it must impoverish the country: moreover, it is an innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan. But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to determine upon this measure, the demand ought, by the

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rules of equity, to have been made first upon RAMSING, who is esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos. Then let your well-wisher be called upon, with whom you will have less difficulty to encounter; but to torment ants and flies is unworthy of an heroic or generous mind. It is wonderful that the ministers of your government should have neglected to instruct your majesty in the rules of rectitude and honour."

Many of the acts of oppression of the former Mahomedan rulers, were done under the convenient and specious name of the Prophet, or for the purpose of making proselytes. This the Hindoos do not allow of, any more than they do of a man moving to a higher grade in his peculiar caste in which he was born. Be his talents, services, or virtues ever so great, nothing can exalt him to a higher rank; though he may, by crime, negligence, or misfortune, fall into a lower order.

We now draw to a conclusion in our account of Jagernaut's temple. If I have been prolix, it has been for the purpose of being clearly understood, and of leaving no part to be hereafter wanted, as well as by diversifying my narrative occasionally, to make it more interesting. If I have been tedious, it must be recollected that I am unused to composition for the public eye. In one word, I am not a scientific man, a scholar, or an antiquary: a plain straight-forward soldier, who must tell his story in his own way.

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Attached to this temple, and connected with it by a rude aperture in the wall, is a temple sacred to *Adnaut*, as the preceding one is to Jagnäut: it stands at the left-hand side of the entrance of the latter excavation. The height of the rock is twenty-eight feet. It is a beautiful little temple of nine feet six inches in height. The lowness of the ceiling is better proportioned to its size than in some of the larger temples, and it is altogether a fine little excavation. The ceiling is supported by four quadrangular pillars, and on each side of the square, nearly in the centre of the shaft, is tastefully carved in high relief a tiger's head, with the mouth extended, having a scroll of flowers passing through it, and waving gracefully from the lips of the animal. Even this comparatively small excavation has not escaped the artist's taste and talent; nor has his superstitious ardoùr and fear been less active in this than in the adjacent temples.

The hero Adnaut is represented in a sitting posture, in height four feet three inches. There are other figures, particularly one of Lakshmi, and two attendants *, which, from being near the entrance, and greatly exposed to a current of air, are a good deal decayed. Part of this excavation appears, near the entrance, to have been left unfinished. It is likewise a good deal choked up with fallen and decayed fragments; so that scarcely more than the

* Of these principal deities we will speak generally in another place.

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capitals of a few pillars are to be seen, the shafts being buried in the accumulated mass. At first sight it would appear that the temple rested on portions of pillars only, as if originally designed so. The friable nature of the rock at this place, its exposed situation, or other causes at the time the excavating commenced, may have induced the artificers to have desisted in their labours in the outer room of the temple, and to have exerted their skill in the next apartment to it. The capitals that remain above ground are similar in style to those in the front of Jagnäut. From the entrance to the recess, where is seated the figure of Adnaut, is forty-five feet four inches, and to the wall thirty-four feet eight inches; in breadth twenty-eight feet eight inches. The apartments are divided, partly by the wall and partly by two plain pillars. There is a sufficiency of light in this cave: however, it is not improbable that the opening from Jagnäut to Adnaut was made for the purpose of admitting more light. This is but conjecture, as well as the observation regarding the unfinished excavation at the entrance of the cave.

I must now pause a little in our antiquarian inquiries, and occupy a page or two with an account of the manner in which I disposed of my time in these happy retreats, these glorious habitations; although in doing so I am aware of the charge of frivolously filling my pages with matter that can interest no one but myself; yet as it is not *often*

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that the public are pestered with accounts of the temples of Elora, or a fourteen days' residence in them, I do not expect to be very severely reprimanded for indulging a *little* in personal narrative; particularly as it is necessary to take breath ere we commence the formidable work of describing the next temple (*Indra*), Lord of the Firmament: a task that requires no little patience and toil, and would put to the test greater abilities than mine to do *full* justice to.

I am not over partial to precedents: were I, instances of modern travellers might be cited of whole pages devoted to discussing the beauties of a Bacchanalian feast, the merits of a piece of beef, or the *amiable* qualities of an Italian courtezan, or a French gourmand; or in filling entire pages with scandalous anecdotes coined for the purpose of sale. In other books, we have the brave actions of men known to be cowards; the wise speeches of men known to be idiots; and the virtuous conduct of women of doubtful fame. Then again, we have accounts of roaring cataracts, tremendous mountains, horrid thunder and dreadful lightning, frightful storms at sea which never happened, banditti that never showed themselves, accidents that never occurred, sights that never were seen, and adventures that never took place; written by persons who have gone over their *saleable* ground, part of the time as fast as their worried hacks could carry them, but by far the greater part of the time

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asleep, dreaming perhaps of their travels and the aforementioned dangers and incidents. If we add to all these, tales an hundred times told, "twist ye, twine ye, twist ye on," till at last the worn out yarn snaps asunder with over twisting. The treat I am about to serve up cannot be said to be *hacknied*, before told, or ingrafted on another narrative. It is as unusual as it is novel, to be living solitarily in a rocky mansion, feeding on vegetable diet, and drinking only of the limpid springs of Elora.

First and foremost, I discarded the salt beef aforementioned, by throwing it at a distance by night, for the benefit of some tiger, leopard, wolf, &c. that might prowl that way. This was necessary, for even after the second day's probation on vegetables and milk, I found "the old one strong within me." Wine, for the convenience of light travelling, I had not brought with me; and the little brandy I had, with the exception of half a pint, which I reserved for sickness, went to my servants, two of whom being Hindoos of low caste, and the other (my second servant) a native Portuguese Christian, they joyfully received, and made themselves quite happy with the discarded spirits. They did not in their conviviality get drunk, but just "agreeably confused." The loss of the liquor I cared nothing about, but I must candidly confess that the absence of the more substantial things, as fowls, fish, and kid, was rather irksome at first; but for the fourteen days I con-

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tinued on a vegetable and milk diet, I never was more cheerful and healthy. It gave an elasticity and serenity to the spirits that were quite enviable; nor did I ever sleep so well, or my memory serve me better; and when we see thirty millions of Hindoos, healthy, cheerful, robust, and active, I conceive no one will assert that it was mere imagination that made me feel a beneficial change in abstaining from meat and liquor.

At day-light I bathed in one of the cisterns appropriated to my service; after that, I rode hard for a few miles, or looked out for a fox or jackall; then came home to my tent, ate voraciously of rice and eggs, *apps*, biscuits, and butter, and with abundance of tea made up the meal. Then came the labours of the day in perambulating and surveying the temples until 2 P. M. when a dinner of vegetables, pulse, milk, biscuit, and cheese, furnished a banquet fit for an anchoret, ay, or for a king; but I fancy in Europe few kings have for even fourteen hours imitated my example. The afternoon I lounged and whiled away with some book, or in conversation with the transitory visitors who were arriving at the temples from various parts. This, and arranging my notes of the day's researches, brought coffee (a good cup of which I have not tasted since my return to England), and a whiff of the genial "bilsah" finished that repast. The front portico at Keylas, or the upper story of Teen Tal, were my usual

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places of retirement; being nearer to my tent and people.

Those who have resided in tropical climates have seen how delightfully serene and soothing is the last hour of the sun's setting and final exit in the western horizon, with his rich train of tints, spreading over a boundless landscape, studded with the infinite variety of shades of a character peculiar to torrid climates, its hills, plains, and woods. Here at the tranquil hour of departing day would the eye wander to the setting sun, for it was the west; nor could the glories of the mountain of Elora in the east, with its perforated front, abstract attention from the west, for there was England. In that little magical word how much is conveyed to the mind of the wearied sojourner in the arid plains of Hindostan! It is but a pleasing delusion; for without friends or fortune, although the abode of every thing that is great and good, and worthy of example in all nations, it is to many a stranger a comfortless home.

After twilight, when the candles were introduced, the guard mounted, the cattle secured against wild beasts, and my servants gone to sleep, (of which they are marvellously fond,) I found myself for the first day or two lonely and dreary.

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CHAPTER XI.

Temple of Indra—Figures of Indra and Indranee—Their Character—Probable Derivation of Names—Curious Group of Visitors—Lower Story of Indra's Temple—Insulated Pagoda—Temple of Parasu Rama—Great Temple of Dhurma Linga—Error of Dr. Robertson—Force of Religious Enthusiasm—Notices of the Lingham—Numerous Deities—Cascade and Gallery.

THE next excavation* is an assemblage of habitations, that, for grandeur and size, surpass all the temples in this range; and, considering the infinite variety of sculptural ornaments, is superior to the large temple of Teen Tal, and second only to Keylas, to which temple it has a considerable resemblance in design, except that *this* has large apartments hewn out of the back or eastern part of the mountain; and instead of the three piazzas, or galleries, with the large figures, this has three large magnificent apartments, not so uniformly placed as the galleries of Keylas, but better wrought. If it loses in not having three figure-galleries, the three sides of the mountain have probably had more labour bestowed upon them in the number of cubic feet excavated. The small temple situated

* *Vide* Frontispiece.

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in the centre of the court with the pyramidal roof, with its indescribable figures and ornaments, and the projection of rock over the capitals of the pillars that uphold the roof, are all a striking imitation of the temples at Keylas. It has not the flight of stairs, nor the upper story, or side porticoes; otherwise it is a copy upon a small scale —the one at Keylas being, however, about twelve times the circumference. Like Keylas, it is adorned with an obelisk on the left-hand side, as displayed in the plate. It is, however, of a much lighter appearance, and more carved, than the two in front of Keylas. Instead of a lion at top*, lights are placed at festivals. The Brahman affirmed there had formerly been two obelisks, but that Aurungzebe had destroyed the one on the right. Of this I had my doubts, as I could discover no remains of its base or any fallen fragments. This temple, like Keylas, has had a wall in front, and gateways were left standing, as the excavation was hewn downwards, outwardly enclosing the area. It is not an idle conjecture, with regard to both Keylas and this temple, with their large areas, insulated temples in the centre (nearly)†, and their boundary sides excavated to a considerable depth, that the workmen commenced their task at

* Flame is one of the principal emblems of Parvati, as Māhā Kali, and as Durga.

† It will be seen, by reference to the dimensions, that the depth of Keylas greatly exceeds the breadth.

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the upper part of the mountain, and worked their way downwards. In the temples, perforated and scooped out of the *front* face of the mountain, their prodigious labour may have been differently commenced and completed. This problem, however, I leave to more competent judges.

In doing justice to these fine and singular excavations, my wish is to be as explicit as possible, that I may be clearly understood by all classes of readers. Here we may remark, that these two curious and stupendous works (Keylas and Indra's temple) have been constructed downwards, the roof being the first part that was finished, the workmen proceeding gradually down to the basement, where their foundations remain as originally placed by the "*Great First Cause,*" and where the enormous block will remain immoveably bedded in its primitive soil till that dread day when chaotic convulsions shall rend the earth, or, in the words of the poet, when

"Rocks fall to dust, and mountains melt away."

A truce to these melancholy reflections, alike appalling to the best of men and of Christians. The very idea of beautiful nature being enveloped in fire, or again entombed in one overpowering mass of waters, is shuddering to the most virtuous and to the firmest minds.

As these excavations are widely different in the way they were fabricated, no less are they curious

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in another interesting particular, as differing from our way of *making* houses. To form these temples and habitations the workmen had a superabundance of materials at hand, and which, in constructing *their* edifices, they were obliged to *carry away*; whilst we are obliged to bring the materials to the spot with much trouble and expense. Here materials were plentiful, and the artificers had nothing to do but to scrape and chisel away; and, instead of accumulating materials, their object was to remove and cast away as they worked; and even that was not a *very trifling* job to do, for a distance of upwards of a mile of mountain, while deeply penetrating into its bowels, consisting of a hard, compact, and unyielding rock. It has, however, been done; and, what is more, it has been well done.

In my description of Keylas I commenced my observations at the gateway, a plan I shall not pursue here, but go on precisely as I went over the excavation. I entered the upper story of this temple from the upper story of Jagnäut, by means of two doorways that afford a communication to each other; and by the same means, but on the southern side of Indra's temple, is an opening to the next excavation (Parasu Ram); so that the three temples communicate with each other. These doorways, or large apertures, are hewn out of the divisional wall that separates each temple; so that they may be likened unto a suite of apartments

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opening into each other, although destitute of folding doors, corridors, or other modern conveniences and improvements. The workmen, however, have not neglected to afford the means of ingress to these contiguous rooms.

This fine and large excavation looks directly into the area, and faces the back part of the insulated temple in the court below. It is formed, by sections of pillars, into nearly two square apartments, one being within the other. The floor of the outer square is eleven inches lower than the inner, and three steps are cut to ascend to the platform. It is likewise distinguished on the outer or front side by a ledge of rock, that proceeds the entire length of the apartment from north to south, three feet two inches in height, and one foot in thickness; so that the outer side is not unlike a distinct viranda or gallery. The inner square is distinguished, not only by the raised floor, but likewise by an altar placed in the centre. The floor is richly carved in some places. The pillars that form the inner square are seven feet three inches asunder, are twelve in number, and of the amazing dimensions of three feet four inches square, having the globular-shaped capitals, shafts, and pedestals, richly carved: a part only in the centre of the shaft is left unsculptured. It is impossible to describe them technically without a professional knowledge of architecture; but the

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accompanying sketch (the frontispiece) will convey an idea of this excavation.

The three sides of the room, the front being open, have four pilasters on each wall, and which the artists have judiciously placed opposite the corresponding pillars in the centre of the apartment, to preserve an uniform appearance. Surely these wonderful workmen must have been of a different race to the present degenerate Hindoos, or the country and government must have been widely different from what it is at the present day. One's mind is so bewildered at beholding these stupendous and immortal works, that the most frigid and taciturn person could not repress his feelings of wonder and delight in walking over these temples and habitations, fit residences for their gods only. The artificers have not only adorned the walls with pilasters, but I really do not think there are five square inches of the walls left undecorated, as minutely as it is perfectly done, with figures, emblems of religion, tasteful ornaments, and wreaths of flowers. The centre of the ceiling is ornamented with a kind of medallion, containing large flowers, curved upwards, and richly fluted.

The principal figures in this room are entitled to distinct notice. As they are honoured with thrones or niches by the workmen, a common feeling of respect entitles them to a niche in our

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book, and, from their high rank, an engraved delineation. At the north and south ends of the apartment are placed large figures of Indra and of his consort Indranee, seated as shown in the plate; but, as that does not explain their size, it is necessary to mention, that they are of the Patagonian breed; as Raj Indra, in his sitting posture, is nearly 7 feet high, and 4 feet 3 inches across the shoulders; and as a god ought to be placed, sitting on an elephant, the emblem of great strength and sagacity. The Anglo-Indian will instantly discover in his countenance the contented, lank, sleek, well-fed, vegetable-eating Brāhmans of Upper Bengal of the present day. The head is adorned with a kind of tiara, something similar to the cap worn by Brāhma now-a-days: the sacerdotal thread (*Jaonee*, or *Zennar*) passes over his left shoulder.

As this thrice-sacred string is not familiar to all my readers, a few words on it may not be unacceptable.

Over the left shoulder is the Zennar, or sacerdotal thread. This insignia of divine priesthood must consist of three threads, alluding to the triad, or Trimurti (Brāhma, Vishnu, and Siva): each thread, measuring 96 hands, is first twisted together; then they are folded again, making nine—that is, three times three threads; this is folded again into three, but without any more twisting, and each end fastened with a knot (the Jod of the

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Hebrews), which, being put over the left shoulder; passes to the right, and hangs as low as the fingers can reach.

I will introduce Indra by quoting four lines from Sir W. Jones's Address to him, in a poem of his, Works, vol. 13:

> "Mounted on the sun's bright beam,
> Darter of the swift blue bolt,
> Sprinkler of genial dews and fruitful rains
> Over hills and thirsty plains."

Indra is the god of the firmament—is Jove, or Jupiter. His elephant is called Iravattee. He is the east point. He has a variety of names. He, like many other of the Hindoo deities, has the credit of begetting a monkey. He was a very profligate fellow: his history is full of debaucheries. He was a very evil counsellor, and is supposed to have destroyed the city of Ougein*; which, like another Pompeii, was buried in a shower of ashes.

The goddess Indranee† is seated on a lion, which, from her character, is not a very fit animal to carry a deity who is famed for mildness

* A good account of this awful event is much wanted. It is mentioned by Dr. Hunter at some length in the Asiatic Register.

† Having offered a supposition regarding the derivation of the word India, I was particularly anxious about the name of this lady; and they (the Brahmans) invariably designated her as Indranee, consort of Indra, or Ind.

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and beauty. A long story is told of her virtue in Captain Wilford's Essay on the Nile—3d vol. Asiatic Researches.

The child sitting on her left arm has a very pleasing countenance. The left hand of the goddess is broken off at the wrist. The tree rising above her head is the mango. The figures standing near are attendants, holding up a chouree (an emblem of royalty), a kind of fan used in India to keep off flies, and which, when moved quickly about, causes a current of air. Any further description is unnecessary, as the plates will give every information. The execution of the figures and animals does infinite credit to the artist:

> "Where the smooth chisel all its skill has shown,
> To soften into flesh the rugged stone."

Why should I particularize, when almost every inch of rock has something to deeply interest our observation and study? We must, before we take leave of Indra and Indranee, say a few more words concerning them, always bearing in mind (with almost a nervous recollection of former studies) my promise not to wander into the interminable labyrinth of Hindoo mythology.

Indra, after whom the temple is named, probably gave name to India. I should venture, though with much deference to the opinion of others, to suggest, that from this principal god the name may have been derived, and that our final soft

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termination has been added,—as in Arabia, Syria, Sindia (*Sind*), Persia, and other names of countries. He is very frequently called *Ind*, Indur, Indra: the natives call themselves *Indee*-people, which Europeans have corrupted into *Hindoo*, adding the common Persian word *stan* (country). *Bharata* is the ancient classical name, after the god of that name, who flourished about 2000 years before Alexander. Many of the large rivers are named after the gods,—as the Cauvery (*Cuvera*), Ganges, (*Ganga*), Burrampooter (*Brahma-putra*), Nerbudda (*Ner-Budda*), Toomboodra (*Toom Budra*), *Krishna*, the *Indus*, the city of *Indore*, &c. Why, then, might not the word India be similarly derived? This, like many other observations of mine, is humbly offered in the shape of an original conjecture.

At the north and south sides are gigantic figures of Chandrah Maha and Sura Narrayn*. These mighty personages are seated on a throne of solid rock, resting on the backs of elephants, similar in size and appearance to Indra. Chandra Maha is the moon. This affords a prolific ground for fable; and, as usual, so fine an allegorical subject as the moon is not lost upon the Hindoos, any more than the opportunity for immoral or obscene illustration, in which they delight to indulge. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fiction of Chandrah Maha's losing his virility, becoming female, and

* *Surya*, the sun.

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being visited by the sun: from which sprang a heavenly progeny, called *Pulinda*. This transformation was in consequence of the moon entering a forest dedicated to the "loves" of Siva and his wife.

In a recess is a figure of Raja Rameka, with a hideous countenance, as gloomy as the room in which he is placed. A few steps descend into it. The figure appears the personification of Fury.

The dimensions of this richly-sculptured apartment are 66 feet 10 inches in breadth from the recess or small room containing the figure; 78 feet 2 inches in depth; height, 14 feet. The whole has been plastered and painted. There is a great curiosity in this apartment: two small pillars, near the doorway, on being struck with the hand, a deep hollow sound issues, not unpleasing to the ear. These pillars are very slender, being only 1 foot 10 inches in circumference. The sound continues about a quarter of a minute. None of the other pillars possess the same property. The Brahmans who were around me did not let this favourable chance of indulging in their *penchant* for the marvellous* escape them. Various causes were assigned, and tales told of these curious

* When I was last in Calcutta (on duty), Lord Hastings, from the oppressive heat (the thermometer on that day was 102), fainted in church. This was immediately ascribed by the natives to Divine wrath, in consequence, I believe, of some measures of the police, directed against an itinerant impostor, who pretended

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pillars, equally extravagant and absurd. As a relation of them would only tend to the satisfaction of those pleased with trifles and phantasms, we will pass by the subject. I observed, being in a merry mood, to those about me, that probably they were constructed by Aurungzebe. The frown of ineffable contempt and disgust that overspread the hitherto placid countenances of the Brahmans, dressed in their white graceful garments; the scowling contraction of features of some characteristically-attired and ornamented fakeers; two fanatics, perfectly naked*, besmeared on the breast, shoulders, and forehead with red ochre and brown clay—their whole frame daubed over with oil and the dust of wood-ashes—their hair thickly matted, and approaching in parts to a brick-dust colour, reaching to their knees; the uplifted hands and

to be inspired. When the late bishop's house was struck by lightning, which penetrated the apartments, thousands of natives indulged in the wildest chimeras; and his death was confidently predicted before night.

* I once saw in the village of Corygaum, a gang of nine of these wretches, reclining on a heap of ashes, in a state of perfect nudity. Lest the narration should be doubted, I insert that of Major Moor, who resided for some time at the city of Poona:—a better authority, therefore, cannot be given. "In Poona, dozens, sometimes, of these brawny saints are seen lolling and sleeping in the streets, and on shopboards: in other Mahratta towns I have occasionally seen one, always treated with great respect, especially by women; who will sometimes kiss the holy man in a mode we should judge highly indecent."

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eyes of three or four fat *Vaishnavas*:—the appearance of this motley assemblage at my observation about Aurungzebe was highly picturesque: two or three of my Siphauees, in their neat undress clothes, although Hindoos, affirming, with a look of self-importance and gratulation, that it *must* be so if I said it. Near these stood, dressed in all the frippery and pride of a *petit-maître* (which the degenerate descendants of the Portuguese are so fond of), with measuring rod and line, conscious of his importance as deputy surveyor, and affecting to look wise and knowing, my second servant Joe. Last, and not least, the author himself, with camp-stool and note-book, clad in only three articles of white linen, viz. shirt, jacket, aud trowsers, with feet to them. All these curious figures, congregated in the spacious and beautiful upper floor of Indra's temple, would have presented a picturesque group not often met with in drawings, or described on paper: the latter being the apology I have to offer for its insertion.

Descending by a flight of stairs leading from the southern end of the temple, we arrived at the ground floor. This is likewise a fine spacious room, but undecorated, and is by no means so well finished. In depth it exceeds the upper story by 16 inches; in breadth it is little more than half that of the upper room, being only 38 feet 8 inches: in height it is just the same. The floor of the

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upper apartment, or the ceiling of the lower room, is supported by ten massive pillars, nearly plain, but having similar capitals to those above: they are larger in girth, being 4 feet square. From this ground-floor we step into the area. There are two rooms on the southern side of the court that have not been finished; and what has been excavated is not of equal workmanship to the apartment we have just quitted. The figure of a Rishis, sculptured on the outside, above the lower room, is imperfectly finished, or else its proportions and surface have been injured by its exposed situation. In the area, not far in front of the temple, is a large stone figure of an elephant standing, whose back is just seen over the wall: it is 13 feet 4 inches long, and 8 feet 11 inches in height. The height of the rock at this part of the excavation may be estimated at about 40 feet: that on the opposite side of the area is a few feet more in altitude. Crossing the area on the north side of the mountain is an open apartment, profusely sculptured with human figures, and those of elephants, lions, serpents, musical instruments, &c. The depth of this room, including a recess with a figure of Parasu Rama, is 32 feet 4 inches; breadth 30 feet; and the height of the room 12 feet 2 inches. A small excavation adjoins this, the dimensions of which are 16 feet by 8 feet 2 inches, having a low ceiling of only 7 feet 1 inch. By some ac-

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cidental omission or interruption in my pursuits, I find no mention made of the pillars, or of the apartment above.

Among the vast number of interesting objects that constantly claimed one's attention, the intricate measurements and the great variety of sculpture very often so bewildered me, that I did not know which way to turn or what to commence with first.

To palliate, not exculpate, my inattention, I quote the observation of Mr. Matthews, in his very interesting "Diary of an Invalid." Speaking of Mr. Eustace's account of St. Peter's at Rome, he says: "It is remarkable that scarcely any two books agree in the statement of its dimensions." This is inexcusable with an Englishman in Italy: in my case, a solitary individual, with many local obstacles, and without any guide or assistance, it may, perhaps, meet with indulgence. The reader will believe, that in a hot climate, wandering over the mountain of Elora, and prying into every nook and corner*, inches deep in dust, in despite of snakes, scorpions, and centipedes, frequently interrupted and pestered by two or three dozen

* In endeavouring to penetrate into the cave, partly filled with water, in the next temple but one to this, I was nearly suffocated and drowned by falling into it, in a kind of giddiness that overcame me, probably from the foul air it contained. Many snakes were in the pool at the time.

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followers, was really no sinecure, nor unattended with exertion and fatigue.

The block of rock, standing in nearly the centre of the area, is one mass of sculpture, from its pyramidal top to the floor. It is ascended by ten steps: the eight pillars that support the projecting ledge of roof have their capitals more flattened than those in the upper floor of the large temple in the body of the mountain. The obelisk is of the same order of architecture, only that it stands upon a square base. There is a passage round the platform, between the pillars and the wall of the Sanctum Sanctorum, which contains a figure of one of the Menus.

It would be impossible for the ingenuity of man to carve and ornament an edifice more elaborately than this is, particularly its singularly shaped roof. This roof, in most of its parts, is a copy of the roof of the temple of Keylas. This pretty little place of worship is a square of eighteen feet one inch; in height it is twenty-seven feet four inches. The obelisk near is five feet one inch less in height than the obelisks within the area of Keylas. There is no limit to the fancy of the artists who formed these extraordinary works; and no earthly purpose can either the obelisk or elephant be applied to*.

The breadth of the area, where this temple has its foundation, is forty-four feet six inches; in

* Formerly a figure was on the top of the obelisk.

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depth fifty-four feet eight inches. The wall has been left standing as the excavators proceeded in their work: it is within half an inch of eight feet by six. Surmounting the gateway, with their heads facing the north and south rooms, are two lions couchant, placed as if guarding the entrance. In the view I have given, the doorway and part of the wall are omitted, that a more perfect view of the temple may be afforded, which stands immediately behind it, and only a few feet distant. The ground on the outside of the wall is now higher than it originally was. This is evident from parts of the pillars being buried in the accumulated soil, the upper parts being only visible*. As this interruption to the front view for the most part occurs on the exterior of the excavations, or at the outer entrances, we can readily imagine that fragments washed down from the top of the mountain in the rains, and that some of the sculptured parts of the exposed rock, have, from time and exposure to the elements, fallen to the ground. These accidents, with brushwood, brambles, &c. the growth of ages, and with the south-west winds (generally high, driving and carrying earth and sand before them), will in the course of time form hillocks.

One's mind is so bewildered and fatigued with the wonders of Elora, that, in describing the temples in due order as they stand, we absolutely

* Vide frontispiece.

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scarce heed the minor excavations—so gratified with the nobler ones*, that we hardly think it worth while to peep in at those of an inferior size or beauty. Being accustomed to rich viands, we cannot be satisfied with coarse food; yet the next cave, and other small excavations, so lightly spoken of, would render any other place illustrious in the annals of antiquity, and stamp its name to posterity as a place of renown, possessing monuments of intense curiosity, the offspring of idolatry, and the work of an unknown age and people.

We must not, however, in our admiration of the larger and more ornamented temple, pass by, *sub silentio*, the following excavation, called after Parasu Rama, a name of Vishnu, being his sixth incarnation; said to have been born near Agra, on the Treeta Yoog: he is supposed to be still living in the Concan. This temple communicates with the last one by an opening in the wall. Although on a much smaller scale in every particular, yet the pillars that support the ceilings are two feet three inches square. The room is thirty-one feet by twenty-five feet eight inches; to the ceiling eight feet ten inches: the recess is six feet six

* Since the foregoing pages of my work have gone to press, I have found, in looking over a large box full of manuscript papers, the following note regarding Indranee, the presiding goddess here. "Ear-rings and anklets; her eyes are formed of two black and finely polished stones; face highly rouged with red ochre."

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inches deep, containing the figure, which is sitting, three feet four inches high: it is a neat little apartment.

At about four hundred yards distance from Parasu Rama temple, stands Dhurma Linga*. Unlike the other temples, this is approached by a narrow, excavated avenue, hewn out of the mountain for one hundred feet, and eight feet one inch broad. Proceeding up the avenue or passage, is a plain excavation, in a dilapidated state, and partly filled up with water†: it is about sixty feet by twenty-five feet. At the end of the avenue is a doorway or entrance, eleven feet six inches by four feet six inches; this opens into a fine spacious area or court, in length fifty-one feet six inches by twenty-six feet. We at once enter this mighty quarry by the doorway just mentioned; and here stands, in lonely pride, a temple, for magnitude and massiveness, inferior to none as a single apartment. The immense pillars, and gigantic figures, are in respective proportions, and in keeping with the excavation. As a whole, it is an astonishing

* The god of justice, produced from the breast of Brahman. "The very birth of a Brahman is a continued incarnation of Dhurma, god of justice; for the Brahman is born to promote justice, and to procure ultimate happiness."—Institutes of Menu, 98th verse.

† This frightful subterranean cave is guarded by two stone lions, and in the inside by live snakes. This is the one into which I fell, but was shortly rescued by my people.

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piece of workmanship, stupendous and beautiful. If we take into consideration the area and avenue, it appears a vast undertaking, unequalled by any thing in the known world.

Before viewing it, I should have liked to have partaken of Lethe's water, to obliterate the impression left on my mind by the inspection of the other large temples, that I might *de novo* have commenced my inquiries here, all former recollections being erased from my mind. Gratified almost to satiety with a continuance of magnificent and beautiful apartments and temples, I am afraid of not doing full justice to the one we are entering. The beauties of Indra's temple are fast fleeting from my memory; even Keylas hardly retains its hold of my imagination. How, then, is it possible among these glorious works* to bestow due attention upon the minor ones,—mere servants' rooms to a palace, or dormitories to a monastery? Whether we first view the prodigious quarry that forms the area, hewn down from the top of the

* How may a learned and industrious writer be deceived who speaks from hearsay! Dr. Robertson, who is so clear in every thing, but who never was in India, observes of Elora, "They do *not* equal those of Elephanta and Salsette in magnitude." At Elephanta there is *one* temple only: in Salsette, viz. at Canarah, Amboulee, Monpaser, and Macal, where ten feet have been cut, one hundred feet have been cut at Elora. I have repeatedly visited them, and have extensive notes, not only of these, but of other excavated temples.

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mountain, or the room hollowed out of its very bowels, inch by inch, by the slow toiling of the chisel and mallet, until the first cavity grows almost imperceptibly into a spacious and handsome apartment, we are positively at a loss to believe it possible (were the works not immediately before our eyes) that human labour and ingenuity could accomplish these subterranean temples, worked out of such a hard and stubborn material as rock, and finished tastefully and perfectly, massively or delicately, as the artists' skill and fancy dictated.

At the entrance of this large temple, which is on the right-hand side of the area, are two lions couchant, somewhat mutilated, whether by Aurungzebe, accident, weather, or time, my posse of religious attendants differed. In front of the temple is a viranda, or a kind of gallery: at each end are figures, but of these we will hereafter speak distinctly: not that I am at all desirous of a mythological discussion—far from it; but there is in this temple a greater variety of the principal gods of gigantic size sculptured than in any of the other temples. From the front of the excavation to the inner wall, the depth is one hundred and fifty-two feet; and lengthwise, from north to south, one hundred and forty-one feet: height of the room sixteen feet eleven inches.

In an apartment of these great dimensions, and with the prodigious weight of its solid rocky roof, the pillars require to be proportionably stout and

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numerous; for, whilst the excavated apartment does not exceed seventeen feet, the towering mass above, from the ground at the front of the mountain to its summit, averages from sixty feet to upwards of one hundred feet; whilst, just at the entrance of the avenue, the height is not much above thirty feet. It will be easily conceived that the feeling of a visitor upon first entering this temple is that of fear, and the first object to which he directs his eyes are the pillars; and he involuntarily crouches ere he casts a look at the ceiling to see if it is firm and stedfast,—no fissures, no decay. Neither by habits, constitution, or profession, do I possess timid fancies; but I must confess it was two or three minutes before I felt serene and secure enough to calmly contemplate this stupendous apartment. There is, however, no occasion for apprehension: the rock is as firm as when it first started from chaos, the whole being in excellent preservation.

There are forty-four pillars supporting the ceiling or roof; for above it is an undivided mass of rock. These pillars are of immense proportions, no less than sixteen feet four inches in girth, at the base being four feet three inches and a quarter square. About two-thirds of the shaft is plain and square, the rest fluted and ornamented with carving. They have the same kind of capitals as those already described, but not so globular, and a good deal more flattened: a beam of rock over each

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capital crosses them all, not at right angles, but from east to west, for the evident purpose of supporting the roof, these being of considerable thickness. One of the beams is larger than the others; and though I could not perceive any crack or flaw that caused such a precaution, doubtless the architect had his reasons. There is a very trifling difference in the square of some of the pillars. Within this room, and towards the inner side, stands a distinct room, thirty feet square, ascended by five stone steps, having a doorway cut in each wall, between which entrances and the angles are large gigantic figures cut, in high relief, in a standing position: their height is thirteen feet six inches: some are of smaller stature. This small square temple is an integral part of the mountain, as the floor is undetached, although it interrupts the series of pillars. Small as it is, it bespeaks our admiration of the workmen. The Lingham which it contains one would have supposed might have been placed in the large temples, without going to the trouble of hewing out a smaller one in the heart of the large one, like children playing at houses, with cards, one within another. No, this would not have suited the extraordinary and indefatigable artificers of Elora: their unconquerable spirit of a refined and deep-seated superstition only could have perfected these works. The same inveterate fanaticism that formerly caused the first-born female infant to be drowned in milk, the

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young and beautiful widow to burn herself, and the man to immolate himself—the St. Bartholomew's-day of France—the bloody and accursed acts of Queen Mary in England—the *auto da fé* of Spain—RELIGION—did it all; and what has it not done and undone in all countries and in all ages?

The Lingham in this small temple was covered with oil and red ochre, and flowers were daily strewed on its circular top. This Lingham is larger than usual, occupying, with the altar, a great part of the room. In most Ling rooms a sufficient space is left for the votaries to walk round whilst making the usual invocations to the deity (Māhā Deo). This emblem is much frequented by female votaries, who take especial care to keep it clean washed, and often perfume it with odoriferous oils and flowers; whilst the attendant Brahmans sweep the apartment, and attend the five oil lights, and bell-ringing. I never observed it noticed by any writer, that there was a likeness in the oil-vessel to the Yoni (circular frame, &c.) in which the light itself is placed.

I have my doubts whether the large circular altars in the arched-roof temples at Elora, Karli, and Canarah, are not large Linghams. A careful observer will see a great similarity of shape, although a part is incomplete. However, it is a mere flying suggestion of mine, unsupported by any authority: as well as whether the large wide-

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spreading ornament that surmounts these altars may not have been borrowed from the expanded hood of the *Cobra Capello* (hooded snake), which I have occasionally seen in distant parts of India, spread over the top of the Ling stone. These are two inquiries worth the consideration of those who feel an interest in Hindoo mythology.

No symbol is more venerated, or more frequently met with in all parts, than the altar and Ling of Siva, or Māhā Deo. Barren women constantly resort to it, to supplicate for children. The efficacy of their prayers, and the mysteries attending them, we will pass over. Sterility in a female in India is the greatest possible human misfortune. A wife may be formally repudiated on that score; nor is this the only misfortune: the young people scoff at her, her own sex avoid her, and her husband upbraids her. In short, it is supposed to be a curse inflicted by the gods. We know of allusion made to the subject in St. Luke, in the latter part of the 25th verse, chapter i.

Māhā Deo not only in his large altar is honoured, but he and his consort are more than ever sculptured in this wall. By a reference to my MS. papers, I find a room of similar shape, placed within a large room, having figures on the walls, and containing a Lingham, is met with both in the Elephanta (*Garri-pouri*) temple, and in the Amboulee (*Jogee Sri*) temple in Salsette.

This digression respecting the Lingham will be

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excused, as it is an emblem not generally known, but as frequently met with as the Cross in Catholic countries.

The ceiling of this room has been painted, and in front of a group of figures, niches are deeply cut in the floor, to receive offerings and sacrificial oblations, on a marriage taking place.

This temple boasts of the following chief personages—Brāhma, Vishnu, Māhā Deo; making the Hindoo triad. But the figures are distinct and separate: Vira Budra, Govinda, Ravan, Bhavani (goddess), Lakshmi (goddess), Dhurma Raj (hence the name of the temple), Chandrah and his consort, and a few others: not forgetting two or three monkeys, the bull Nundi, and the Ling*.

The group of Māhā Deo and his consort, with their celestial followers, is upheld by Ravan, with his ten hands, eight of which are employed in supporting the happy couple. Two monkeys (Hanumans) are appropriately introduced, as it was chiefly by the aid of the able generalship of Hanuman, and his long-tailed followers, that Ravan failed; who is punished by being obliged to support the heavenly pair.

In a preceding page it will be seen that Sita was guiltless of any participation in the act of

* I have a copy of an inscription, consisting of six lines, cut in the floor of this room; but there being no type of the character in this country, and the impossibility of translating it, for the present I retain it. It is, however, at the service of any one.

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Ravan. The next figure that deserves a detailed notice is a remarkably well-executed figure of *Vira Budra*, having eight hands. One holds up the slain body of *Diruz Raj;* the second, with a spear, piercing the body of Dytaseer; the third, extended, holding a snake; two hands sustaining a canopy of loose drapery; one striking *Eravatti* (the elephant of Indra) on the head; one holding a vessel, bell-shaped, to receive the blood of the victims;—the eighth hand is wanting. The countenance of this sanguinary and popular hero is wild and threatening; the whole very well expressed. Below is sitting, quite unconcerned, Lakshmi, the *Venus Marina*, the sea-born goddess of beauty. She is consort of Vishnu. She presides over marriages and prosperity. She is co-equal with *Parvati* and *Seraswatti* (the consorts of Brāhma and Māhā Deo). As this worthy lady occupies hundreds of pages in Hindoo writings, all allegorical and fabulous, it would be a waste of time to say any more about her. The fables have neither ingenuity nor interest to recommend them to a lengthened notice. Lakshmi is a very common name among Hindoo women.

Diruz Raj, of very large size, in a sitting posture, is on the left-hand side of the viranda. He has a club in his hand, and the sacerdotal thread over his shoulders. On the right-hand side is another figure of Māhā Deo, dancing, and sur-

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rounded by some smaller figures, admiring his agility; whilst the bull Nundi is looking on, with his usual gravity, unconcerned at the frolic going forward. The other figures cut on the walls of the square temple are of gigantic porportions, and occupy the same space as those before-mentioned, between the door-ways and angles of the room. These groups are variously displayed and ornamented. On the right and left of the front centre door-way are grouped *Mun*, or *Muni*, a name of Budha, and Bhavani: the former having a pyramidal-shaped kind of tiara. Entering on the opposite side of the door-way are Pavàn and Lakshmi. On the other space, corresponding groups of Chandrah and Sitabae, Prichand and Govinda. This same group is again honoured by a second representation on the further side of the temple Sidasiva, and Rid, an unknown personage. Most of these heroes are well known in the Ramayana: Ravan as the destroying king of Lanca; Raj Diraz, or Diruz, as having been killed by Rama; Pavan, the regent of the winds, as being the reputed father of Hanuman; and Vira Budra, as a son of Siva, a celebrated warrior. The Ling and Nundi are his attributes. Had he but the usual number of arms it would be a very fine figure.

There is another fine group of figures on the right-hand side from the entrance, consisting of Brāhma, Vishnu, Diruz Raj, Ailyah, and Parvati's

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parents*, celebrating the marriage or reconciliation of Māhā Deo and Parvati. Brāhma, sitting, is kindly officiating as priest, having the *Oles*, and a *Lotus*. The former are leaves on which the *Vedas* (Scriptures) were written; the Lotus is the emblem of female beauty, and is held sacred not only in India, but in Egypt, Thibet, and Nepaul; and of which some notices will be given in a subsequent page. In front of this assembly are the circular cuts, carved on the floor, where Vishnu is standing in the rear of Brāhma. There are some smaller figures, composing the heavenly train.

Not far from this is a standing female figure, unknown by name, accompanied by a few small figures. Probably these are representations of Gopia, the early companions and playfellows of Chrishna (Vishnu). It is, however, problematical whether they would find a place in the same temple with Brāhma and Māhā Deo.

We will say no more; for after those whom, from their size or high rank, we have noticed, a *quantum*

* Probably Narayana and Nerayani, as she had no other parents; and as that was at the creation of the world, it is *scarcely possible* to trace her parentage. Of Ailyah, and her seduction by Indra (the Jupiter of the Hindoos), a disgusting story is told in the Ramayana, 38th chapter. She was famed for her austerity and virtue: her husband was a wise old man, named Gotima, who at first detected Indra, and implored of Siva that he might be marked with the object of his libidinous desires. On repentance, these were changed into eyes. He, however, still persevered, and finally succeeded with Ailyah.

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sufficit, for one temple, of the fabled host has been given.

We observe that Brāhma is at last distinctly recognized. Some of the figures are attired in drapery: the male with the common cloth drawers (*choolnahs*), and *cummerband* passing between the thighs and round the middle. They have either the hair twisted and curled round the head, or a kind of tiara, or sugar-loaf-shaped cap, richly carved. More skill is shown in the execution of some of the figures than in others.

There is an excavation outside, in front of the door, 28 feet by 17 feet. A part, not included in this measurement, is greatly choked up, having some pillars 9 feet 11 inches in circumference.

At the further or southern end, and opposite the entrance, is a large and deep hollow, having a great number of steps, that lead to a pool of water overgrown with rushes and weeds. This pool has been formed by a cascade that precipitates itself upwards of 100 feet from the top of the mountain; and in the south-west monsoon, or rainy season, it must present a grand fall of water, judging from the breadth of the channel that carries off the overflowing water along the plain towards the village of Elora.

Over these stairs, of which there are twenty-eight, is a gallery, 28 feet by 14 feet 6 inches: in height, 7 feet 6 inches. We may conjecture that this gallery has been constructed for inhabitants

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or visitors to observe the cascade, which, during a tempestuous night of the monsoon, with the accompaniments of the thunder and lightning of the torrid zone, would afford a grand spectacle during the midnight-hour; and, as we see from this gallery the southern temples, when in the plenitude of their glory, their numerous lights, and musical instruments, always deep and loud, echoing from temple to temple, must have afforded as rich and as imposing a scene of religious retirement as the mind of the most gloomy enthusiast could wish,—a scene which any man would rejoice at beholding at the time these temples, filled with priests and disciples, were in their pristine splendour.

It is not to be doubted, that the founders, who made such noble offerings to the gods, did not stop here; but that the ceremonies, religious spectacles, high festivals, and the crowds of priests and votaries, were in number and pomp commensurate with the stupendous works they had completed; that nothing was wanting as long as the Hindoo sovereignty maintained its power; and that the wealth of the richest country in the world, and the devotion of the most idolatrous people, were constantly devoted to the gods and their mighty houses at Elora, is a fair conclusion; and with this remark I will conclude my survey of Dhurma Linga.

The next temple is separated only by the pool

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of water and the nulla. The mountain here curves a little; for the front of this temple is nearly two points to the northward of west, whilst the aspect of the latter temple is to the southward of west. The succeeding temple to the one we are visiting has a northern declination.

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CHAPTER XII.

Temple of Hymen, or Januwassee—Confusion of Names in the Hindoo Mythology—Virandas—Temple of Sri Gunnees—The Ghana—Former Occupants of the Caves—Faded Glories of Elora—Temple of Nilacantha—Few Altars to Brāhma or Seraswatti—Mr. Maurice's Opinion—Temple of Rama Warra—Miser and Family—Grotesque Figures—Nuptials of Janeka—The Cocoa-nut—Concluding Remarks.

THE temple we are about to survey is, like the last, sacred to the holy state of matrimony; for single blessedness* forms no part of the Hindoo creed of happiness, although sects of Fakeers devote their life to rigid celibacy. This place is called *Junawassee*, or abode of Hymen, which is displayed in the figures of *Beli* † and *Lakshmi* in the viranda. The other figures in this apartment are the three members of the Hindoo Triad, as seen in the last excavation. It is singular that

* Both parties marry young, and are betrothed in their infancy—their loves grow with their youth and ripen with their age.

† Of the above deity, or hero, I am not certain, as the Brahmans called him *Bullee*, *Belli*, and *Bulleel*; therefore I give no account of his life or actions. If it be *Beli*, he is of a smaller size than many, notwithstanding his being half-brother to Indra; but he is evidently not a dwarf. Whether, as supposed in the Asiatic Researches, vols. 2 and 3, he is the ancient Belus, I cannot presume even to surmise. I tried hard to ascertain who he was, it being his first appearance.

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Brāhma should be represented as presiding in his creating capacity, in both these marriages, as well as in his preserving and destroying ones; and is a happy illustration, by the artist, of the threefold influence this deity is said to possess. We do not find his image thus distinguished in its triple power in any other of the temples. Another singularity distinguishes these two temples from their neighbours: the Lingham and the bull Nundi are observed where Brāhma and Vishnu reside together; and there are also the figures of several handsome females, wearing high tiaras on their heads, though they are not of any rank in the mythology, described by any attribute, or designated by any name: thus, whilst we distinctly recognize Parvati, Lakshmi, and Sita, these pretty wenches are left nameless. They may probably have been bride-maids or attendants; but, whatever character they might have filled, it is certain they have no small share of beauty, and are chastely finished by the artist.

By the by, I should state that where I could not identify to a certainty a male or female figure by some symbol or attribute, I have invariably avoided affixing any name at all. The Brahmans had names in abundance; but they make assertions with such facility and unconcern, whether true or not, that little dependence can be placed upon their opinions. This I know by having detected them in forgetting a name which they bestowed a day or two before on

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the same figure; and where Parvati has five hundred names, Māhā Deo is acknowledged to have a thousand. In one of the Puranas there are his names at full length. In the various Avatars a confusion ensues. Then again the deity is male or female, sometimes coalescing with *Sacti*, consort, or female energy. The attributes, too, are often applied to opposite deities. The son of one of the principal gods is sometimes the original in another character or name. There are three Ramas, for instance; one and the same person, although different descents or Avatars. It is a heterogeneous subject, and would puzzle a lawyer to make out their deeds, or the most profound genealogist to trace them with satisfactory accuracy. Theories may be laid down, and names may be twisted and tortured by etymologists till *something* is made out of the doubtful point.

On making inquiries, the Brahmans rather confound than assist in your researches. Each has his favourite deity and peculiar local name, generally accompanied with some fanciful theory of his own. My Brahman was a native of Poona: he was fond of his *Wittoba*, *Ballajee*, *Lakshmi*, and others, and *wished* them to be paramount in all the temples. A different list would have been preferred by a Benares Brahman; while a coast (*Coromandel*) Brahman would probably have been for the Buddhist heroes. If to this discrepancy we add the numberless host of minor or secondary deities, all

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with their consorts, giants, sages, and holy men, the whole wrapped up in impenetrable and mysterious fable, some faint idea may be entertained of the difficult and abstruse subject of Hindoo mythology.

On the right-hand side of Junawassee is a figure of *Kumara*, having his belly chafed by his consort *Kaumari*. Kumara is another name of *Carticyea*, whilst the female was said to be Lakshmi. A niche is occupied here with the *Varaha* Avatar, or Boar incarnation, being the third descent of Vishnu; the world (*Prithivi*) resting on his tusk, while he is trampling on *Seys* (serpent) who subsequently became incarnated, under the name of Seesha, the emblem of eternity. The observation just made, regarding the intricate subject of identifying the deified personages in their collateral bearings to any particular Avatar, occurs in this group with respect to Seys; so that great caution is therefore necessary not to mention the various incarnations or personifications of the deity as distinct personages. The casts in brass, the drawings on paper, and sculpture on stone, widely differ in representing the same deity: in short, the same god which I have well known in Malabar I have scarce recollected in Guzerat or the Mysore, quite changed in Bengal, and hardly recognizable in *Berar*. I therefore cannot help noticing that it were better to pass over some of the fabled tribe, than, by giving fictitious names, impose upon the reader and de-

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ceive the oriental scholar. It is a bold assertion, that I believe no officer in the Company's service (of my standing) has been over more of India than myself; and for the first two years I intensely studied, both from books and oral communications, the early history of the Hindoos, until I was surfeited with unprofitable food, as, perchance, the reader may be with the late dissertation; we will therefore close the subject.

The Temple of Nuptials contains two distinct apartments, one considerably larger than the other, having recesses in each. This room is ascended by four steps: from the viranda it is the first in rotation. The outer viranda or gallery is dissimilar to most of those divisional front apartments in the other temples: here it is divided from the back apartment by a wall, having regular apertures for doors, and windows for the admission of light. It is different from most of the other virandas, as being nearly as large as the inner room. The length of this viranda is sixty-four feet six inches, eight feet broad, and twelve feet high; whilst the room is only sixty-seven feet long, and nineteen feet eight inches broad: it is not, however, so high by a foot. There are three small recesses in this room, two of which are six feet square and six feet high: the third recess is exactly one foot larger in the square than the others*. It must not be

* To give some idea of a viranda, I may mention that in the last house I built in India, while the hall was only twenty-five

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thought that virandas to houses in India are like, in size or appearance, to the gingerbread kind of imitations attached to the *rural* cottages and villas in the environs of London: they are often larger than any of the rooms, frequently enclosed with a wall, and having, for their whole length, large Venetian blinds, turning (as well as the usual way of opening) inwards or outwards, to admit air, by means of an iron screw*, from the frame of the blind fitting into a small iron socket in the window-frame. This explanation of the name of viranda is not uncalled for, as other names, equally fitting, would, perhaps, be applied by a surveyor or civil engineer; but, in these curious excavations, the plainest and most common designation is the easiest to be understood. This observation likewise applies to the words, "doors, windows, niches, recesses, compartments, ceiling or roof, platforms or elevated floors, and staircases." The latter, although well cut, are without balustrades,

feet square, the front viranda was fifty-two feet long and fifteen feet broad, was enclosed, and had glass-windows and Venetians. The three side virandas were thirty feet by ten feet; the bed-room thirty-five feet by twenty-two feet, detached, but having a covered passage to it.

* This is an excellent contrivance, as the blind may entirely be turned round on its pivot. Were this practice introduced, instead of our awkward frame moving by pulleys, the disgraceful and dangerous practice of servant-*girls* going outside to clean the windows would be avoided.

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&c. These have all been defined by one plain, uniform name, and not as an architect would technically describe a large modern building.

A few yards from this viranda and hall is another excavation having the same appellation as the one we have just left. This is a larger and finer temple than its neighbour, containing a room twenty-one feet square, placed in a spacious recess forty feet six inches in depth, and thirty-eight feet broad. Its square room contains a Ling of Māhā-Deo. Outside of the door are colossal figures similar to those in Dhurma Linga, but only in the front square: they represent Chand and Prichand. The figures that are grouped with them were called by different names to those that accompany the same figures in Dhurma Linga, and are proportionably small in stature, but are exceedingly well executed. The chief ornaments, however, in this apartment are two handsome and singularly-shaped pillars, and two pilasters that adorn the entrance of the recess, which give a very pleasing effect to the square temple standing behind, showing itself between the intervals of the pillars. I was so forcibly struck by the beauty of these parts of the artist's labour, that although I have lost my drawing, the recollection is as perfect in my memory as during the first month I viewed it. This temple otherwise is not particularly distinguished by any massive pillars, large dimensions, or variety of sculpture. The length of the hall (exclusive of

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the recess) is one hundred and eleven feet by twenty-two feet six inches. After passing the outer part, the room is contracted by the recess, in which stands the temple and the scarp: this part is enriched with several figures, with drapery round their middle. The Brahmans, as usual, had names for them; but as they are not distinguished by any emblematical devices, I forbear giving a doubtful list; generally they are said to be servants of Kama*. My Brahman cut all discussion short by affirming, with a supercilious smile, they were *Kunchnee Luq*, in other words, "*Dames des plaisirs.*" The Hindoos are not very chaste in their representations or expressions. Love forms the basis of most of their tales and histories. Their unbounded attachment to women may be excused in a warm climate and possessing females who, for symmetry of shape, delicate features, small feet, exquisitely proportioned limbs, fervency of affection, and sweetness of temper, are unexcelled by any females in the world. It would be strange were the natives not amorous. The loves of the Hindoos are the same as the loves of others; but their stories are more coarsely told, more extravagantly embellished, than the delicately wrapt up tale in modern novels, where the subject is well disguised. *N'importe*,—these unhappy digressions may, perhaps, be deemed censurable; but if it be necessary at all to speak of the manners and cus-

* God of Love.

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toms of the people, it is necessary to do so with fidelity; and I cannot help thinking that a little change of subject, as we wander over the rocky tenements, will not offend my readers.

We will, however, again, once more resume our researches. The front entrance to Junuwassee is open, and has four pillars and two pilasters, one at each end; these pillars are thirteen feet six inches high, and are very large, being three feet six inches square at the base. The breadth of the hall at this part is twenty-two feet six inches, where the large recess and its square temple interrupt the size of the room and lessen the length. Although the excavation is small, the open front, neat pillars, and richly sculptured recess, give it a pleasing appearance; it is in fine preservation; and the united temples in Junawassee alone would be the pride and boast of any county in proud England. England has, indeed, much to be proud of; for, standing amid the convulsions of empires, she is the example and dread of all. Her limited population have formed two other Englands, and a third is fast forming. In every thing that is done she has an influence, and has the power to direct. How enviable is the state of that country that is neither to be cajoled nor frightened!

Ere we arrive at the grand Keylas, the intervening space of ground is only occupied by three principal temples or houses; the last of these only will deserve a detailed notice. Satiated as it were

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with these curious and wonderful places, I feel a desire to arrive at the completion of my task. So much has been seen that the mind can scarcely receive any fresh impressions; but, as a faithful historian, justice to my own integrity, respect for the founders of the temples, and lastly my duty to the public, will not allow the idea of omitting or slurring over either of the remaining excavations. Should my health permit me to return to my military duties, I shall most certainly again visit Elora, for purposes not necessary here to mention.

The next excavation in the series, still going south, has two names, *Sri Gunnees* (or Ganesa) and *Kumari* and *Wahiri* *. It is contiguous to Junuwassee. I regret to say the excavation is in a very ruinous state, a good deal of the front having fallen in and choked up the entrance. Indistinctly is seen the remains of two pillars, and the rock still projects considerably over the entrance. The interior of the excavation is distinguished by a large mutilated figure of *Budra*, one hand holding a two-edged sword. A small round spot is pointed out where an image of Ganesa once stood; hence propably the name. This is the first time the divine monster has been in this northern range distinctly brought to notice, although he is constantly observed in most modern Hindoo temples. This excavation is thirty-one feet by fifty-six feet six inches;

* Consorts of Vishnu and Carticycea.

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it cuts but a sorry figure among its more splendid neighbours; but to judge by what remains of the figure, it has in its day been as well finished as the other temples. Adjacent to this is a nest of small rooms called *Ghana* or the oil-shops; these contain three Lings of Māhā Deo and one of Ganesa. As we have no notice of this popular hero in our survey of pillars, virandas, and statues, we must pay Ganesa a tribute of respect by half a dozen lines of recollection. He had the misfortune to be disgraced by Ravan, and the still greater misfortune to be beheaded by Siva: he is said to be the Janus of the Greeks and Romans—he is the Hindoo god of prudence and policy—he is usually seated on a rat—he is in Malabar and the Carnatic called *Pollear*. Of this celebrated and popular divinity we will give, in a subsequent page, a more detailed notice.

These small rooms of the Ghānā are not dissimilar in shape to the huts used in India for expressing oil from the plant. If these temples were in former periods lighted, the consumption of oil must have been very great, and in more request than any other article. Of water, the reservoirs and cisterns afford an abundant supply, and of an excellent quality. Of food and clothing, the Hindoos require but little variety in the former, and little in quantity of the latter, which the village bazaars would be equal to supply. Carpenters and bricklayers were not wanted here, *these* habi-

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tations requiring no repair; shoemakers and barbers would be in request; they, however, from their debased caste, would reside in the Hallalcore cave, mentioned in a former page.

From the abhorrence in which shoemakers are held, this would be a fit asylum: the dancing-girls, singers, and players on musical instruments, would likewise there find a retreat. No business connected with the wants of the priests and devotees of Elora would more require a separate and permanent abode than oil-sellers; and as lights are burnt before many of the gods continually, and generally *five* before the Ling of Māhā Deo, oil would be in request for the visages of some of the gods, and for many of their symbols, which are frequently rubbed with oil. We will conclude that the name is not of a fanciful derivation, and that a flourishing business was formerly carried on in oil.

Where now is the whole mechanism of Elora's former splendour,—the mystic dance, the beautiful priestesses, the innumerable midnight lamps, the choruses of hundreds of enthusiasts and votaries, the responses of music, the shouts of fanatical fakeers, the solemn supplications of the graceful-looking Brahman of the "olden day," clothed in long white vestments? All are fled, and succeeded in the revolutions of time by a degenerate priesthood, whose very presence in the halls of their noble sires is a disgrace. Great has been the revolution among the millions of Hindoos; but if

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we consider the very vicious systems of their native governments, five times invaded and thrice subjugated, the only surprise is, that the moral fabric has not been more deteriorated.

We will now quit the oil-shops, and, proceeding but a few yards, arrive at a temple called *Nilacantha*, or Blue-throat, after one of the names of Māhā Deo. This excavation, though of an inferior size, may boast of a few well-sculptured figures; the bull Nundi, Ling of Māhā Deo; two representations of Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu, and a small imperfect one of Seraswatti, wife of Brāhma. This is, I believe, the only time the latter has appeared. Suffice it to say, she is the Minerva of the Hindoos. To fully describe her ladyship, would occupy a dissertation of ten good round pages, for which I have no appetite. Like her mighty lord, it is singular how few altars or images are raised to her honour. Near her is that ugly fellow Ganesa, without a proboscis (*vulgo*, Gunputty, or Gunnis). For the first time we have Carticycea Swammy *, half brother of Ganesa, and son of Māhā Deo, but, strange to relate, not the son of his mother Parvati. I have no wish to disgust the wise, or edify the

* "Strange to relate, but wonderfully true," is the disgusting prodigy of the birth of Carticycea. I do not know whether any authors have ventured at relating the story; and having myself no wish for a visit from that most useful institution the "Vice Society," I shall say nought, but that it is immodest and obscene in the highest degree.

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curious, by ribaldry. Any thing out of the course of nature and reason is with avidity engrafted by the fabulists of early Hindoo history: the more preposterous and absurd, the greater is the relish with which the Hindoos devour their mythological legends.

Mr. Maurice observes—"Concerning these extravagant mythological details of the Hindoos, I must remark, that, however wild and romantic the language in which they are clothed, this fact may be depended upon, that there in general lies concealed at the bottom some physical meaning, or deep theological truths." This is the opinion of one who wrote a valuable treatise on Indian antiquities. I only know, that with much industry, a knowledge of the language, and the best local information, I never had the good fortune to arrive at such a conclusion. This might, however, be attributed to my native dulness, or lack of genius: if so, I am not singular, as I know wiser men than myself give up the pursuit in despair, and have known even a learned Brahman and Pundit shake his head and appear incredulous. In short, the dose is too large to be swallowed, and for the greater part too obscene to be narrated.

On each side of this temple, as you ascend by six steps, are two figures of Rishis. The large room is divided by a series of pillars, fifteen in number. As usual in the other temples, the Ling has a recess entirely appropriated to it. This sym-

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bol here is of a fine grained smooth stone, that has been sunk into the floor, as it is of a different kind to the walls and pillars. This recess, which stands at the inner end of the room, is twenty-eight feet ten inches by seventeen feet four inches: it is of the same height as the room, viz. twelve feet two inches. The whole room, wanting a few inches, is sixty-nine feet by forty-five feet. In this temple, as in one or two of the smaller ones, the size towards the further end, for a small portion, contracts in breadth, from the pillars closing.

We now draw to a conclusion in our researches among these rocky tenements, as the one we are now approaching is the last in the range, before we come to Keylas, of any note, or deserving of a separate description. It stands not many yards distant from the temple of Māhā Deo, and is named *Rama Warra*, a designation not unlikely derived from a figure of Vishnu (Rama), grouped with an unknown figure. *Bhuat* is sculptured on each side of the door of a square temple, that occupies the recess at the end of the room, where these figures are delineated by the artist as if exciting each other to a trial of strength, as heavenly *pilvans** or wrestlers, which name (Persian) my Brahman gave them.

* This is a Persian word: my Brahman's using it may be accounted for by his lately coming from Bombay, where a body of wrestlers had arrived in the suite of Mr. H. Smith. These men were astonishingly active and strong at Gymnastic exercises.

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This temple of Rama Warra, like the last, has an aspect two points to the southward of west. Upon the whole, it is a fine room, having two small recesses, nine feet each, and a larger recess, holding the square temple. The hall is seventy-two feet four inches long, without the small recesses; height of the ceiling fifteen feet one inch; the depth is seventy-two feet eight inches, exclusive of the large recess. The temple situated in the recess is thirty-one feet two inches square; so that a great portion is taken up by this detached room and its walls. Like the other square temples, within large halls, it is an integral part of the mountain, as the floor and ceiling are still undivided from the parent soil.

The ceiling is supported by six pillars and four pilasters: these are not so large or so numerous as one might expect at a first inspection. The workmen have, however, justly considered, that the walls of the square temple being stout, and the recess being a component part of the rock, they take their due share of the burden in propping the thousands

No one could stand against them: the most powerful men were selected from the king's ships and regiments, and stood not the smallest chance. The Author, at that time strong and young, wished to learn a little; but on the second onset one of the *pilvans* playfully took him by the waistband, and with one hand threw him about four yards on his head in the sawdust, which so discomfited his upper works, that he was obliged to give up the task of learning.

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of cubical feet of rock that form the roof of these excavations. The figures carved or sculptured in this temple are various and numerous, and for the most part exceedingly well executed, nearly all representing fun and frolic, and that which is often the origin of it—nuptials.

In this temple the gods have unbent from their heavenly pursuits, and condescend to enjoy themselves like mortals. Instead of the tiara (migut), or curled heads of hair, or the plaited hair entwined round the head, and rising in a pyramidal shape, as before seen, now, as befitting the nuptial ceremony and festivities going on, or where Ganesa and Vishnu appear, the figures have high head-dresses curiously ornamented. Misery has, however, found its way into this gay party. On the right hand side of the large recess is a singular group of poor emaciated, skeleton-looking figures, in the last stage of exhaustion, so well executed, that the bones are seen through their wretched covering of parched skin. We could almost suppose the artist must have had a living subject to copy from. The group consists of a miser, his wife, son, and daughter, holding out their hands, supplicating either for food or some property, which two thieves are represented in the act of carrying off. The Brahmans explained to me that the family were very wicked; that they had plundered the temples and people, and hoarded the ill-gotten wealth; that the misers were afterwards deprived of food, and,

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to perfect their wretchedness, in their helpless state people, were ordered to carry away their substance before their eyes. This, if true, was a refinement in cruelty.

At the entrance on one of the pilasters, of which there are two, is a beautiful naked figure of a female. Outside the temple are several female figures, but not so gracefully executed as the one just mentioned. Opposite to the starving family, as if torturing their afflicted state, is a group of Biroo Kal (Time or Saturn) dancing away, with all his might, with a set of musicians (kala signifies black; kal, devouring). Whether Biroo Kal be meant for Siva or Brigoo, the son of Brāhma, is uncertain.

In the hall is a group of Māhā Deo and his wife Parvati, playing at *choosure*, very prettily explained by the sculptor. Parvati, by the motion of her right hand, appears to be inclined for a "row," whilst Nareda, son of Brāhma, a kind of Mercury or messenger of the gods, who sits near them, is doing his best to accelerate a fray by his look and motion, and which he succeeds in, for a very unconnubial scene is sculptured below; and, as if in derision of the earthly folly in these two gods, a grotesque-looking figure is ludicrously exposing to view, in the most irreverent manner, his bare posteriors. What can gods and goddesses expect when they so demean themselves? Such unseemly quarrelling is very bad in us frail mortals; but when gods

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forget themselves, they are surely entitled to ridicule and contempt. The whole group is well done. This figure was the only jocular one particularly visible in this range of temples: there is, however, quite sufficient of the indecent and obscene in some, and particularly on the outside of the walls of Great Keylas, as a minute inspection afterwards convinced me. There is nothing too depraved or lascivious for the Hindoo mind to contemplate and describe. The reader will quite comprehend me without filling my pages by a recital.

On the left hand of the small recess is a group, Māhā Deo and Parvati in heaven, upheld by Ravan; not unlike, in general outline, to the assemblage already described. If the pillars in front of the recess had the singular and beautiful figures that adorn the recess of Junuwassee, this would be a very highly finished excavation. Divested however of these elegant supporters, the pillars here are, for the most part, profusely sculptured, and on each side of the open entrance in Junuwassee, where the two pillars and two pilasters are placed, this temple is adorned by several pretty female figures; but having once seen a more splendid entrance to a recess than this temple possesses, we look to each succeeding excavation to excel its neighbour; and if it does not do that, nor rival it, there is a feeling of inexpressible dissatisfaction in the mind at not being constantly delighted and amazed. This sentiment, however, towards the

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workmen, is both ungenerous and unjust. The faculties of human labour and ingenuity have gone, as it were, beyond the usual limit in these surprising places; and that they all should be equally splendid and large is expecting rather too much. Those persons, however, who are fastidious in their taste, will do well to visit the minor temples first, and take Jug Naut's temple, Das * Avater, Junuwassee, Rama Warra, Nilkantha, Visvacarma's chapel, Teen Tal, Indra's temple, Dhurma Linga, and Keylas last: thus taking them in succession of rank, which will produce a higher gratification, and secure more permanent impressions on the mind, than on viewing the large temples first, and the smaller ones afterwards. I am free to confess that a slight feeling of disappointment is not always repressible upon arriving at a small and inferior excavation: this, however, is by no means the case with the temple we are now visiting, which, for its size, considering the great variety of sculpture, numerous figures, elaborately carved pillars and pilasters, and square temples in the large recess, is inferior to none. On the wall of the recess is sculptured the nuptials of Janeka (father of Sita), while Ganesa, Brāhma and Govinda are sitting below, assisting in the ceremony. A great number of figures surround the group, as spectators and attendants, one of which holds the sanctified cocoa-

* The tenth descent, like the Messiah of the Jews, is yet to come.—See General Observations.

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nut *. Few ceremonies are conducted without an offering of cocoa-nut; and old Indians will call to mind with delight the groups of elegant Hindoo damsels, tripping along at "early morn," after bathing, attired in their graceful and picturesque garments (the Sari and Chuli), as mild, as affectionate, and as beautiful as angels, and as innocent—carrying, in a polished brass plate, their oblation of sweet-smelling flowers, slices of cocoa-nut, or perchance a whole one, with spices, to the village god, whose temple stands hard by, and generally near a tank or pool of water.

The reader is not, perhaps, aware why the cocoa-nut is held so sacred: a few words in explanation will suffice. It affords both meat and drink, a spirituous liquor, an excellent vinegar, a fine and cheap oil; the fibres make a cable, by which 74-gun ships have safely rode out heavy gales of wind, when the European ones have parted; the trunk, when split, makes rafters for houses; the leaves, when plaited, make good walls and roofs for large houses, impervious to wind and rain †; the fibres,

* Those who have resided on the western side of India will recognise the marriage of the Ocean with the Earth, or, as it is vulgarly called, cocoa-nut day, an event which takes place in August, when vessels may proceed to sea with safety, the rainy and tempestuous weather being *supposed* to have ceased. I have, however, known the Elephanta gale very severe long after this ceremony. A vast concourse of people assemble, and every Hindoo offers his mite of nut to the ocean.

† At the time a part of the Bombay force held the Portuguese

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when picked, make an excellent substitute for horse-hair in stuffing mattresses; and no dish of Indian cookery is complete without cocoa-nut. The duty upon a hundred cadjan leaves is considerable, and I believe each tree in Bombay pays a tax of one rupee to government. A small grove of cocoa-nut trees is a little fortune to a native; and I believe no tree in Europe is so generally useful. Believing that its value and properties are scarcely known in England, and the nut being delineated in the above group of figures, I hope to be excused for the digression.

There are but two more compartments of figures on the walls of the recess to detain us here: a group of Carticyea, with his peacocks and two

settlements in a kind of military surveillance in 1809, I was stationed near Goa, and lived, as many others did, in one of these cocoa-nut leaf houses. It consisted of a hall, about twelve feet square, with four other rooms; and, although the period was in the very height of the monsoon, on the sea-coast, my house was snug, comfortable, and warm. I believe there was not a nail on it; rafters, supporters, &c. were fastened on with cocoa-nut string (coir); the wood was the tree itself; the roof, walls, doors, and windows, &c. the leaf.

A good account of the Portuguese settlements in the East Indies is much wanted. The old city of Goa possesses many fine buildings, and would afford much curious matter. I met with some singular adventures there; was once nearly assassinated, and at another time in danger of the Inquisition, from a ridiculous charge of sacrilege. Goa is a beautiful country, and abounding with interesting history and events. I have some fifty folio pages of MS. observations made on the spot.

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attendants; in the opposite wall another, containing the principal figure, Bhavani, and attendants. These are represented on the right and left hand side of the small recess at the end of the hall. Nearly the whole wall of the right-hand recess is filled up with a representation of the ceremonies observed at the new moon.

At the left-hand of the entrance to the hall of this temple is a large cistern of excellent water; and not far from it, couchant, is our old and early acquaintance, the bull Nundi. As, I believe, we commenced our antiquarian and mythological researches with this sacred animal at Keylas, we will finish with him at Rama's Warra. The bull alone is not only worshipped, but the cow likewise. A Hindoo will with ecstasy run after a cow, and think himself particularly happy if he can but catch some of her falling urine to drink and wash his face with: and happy is the Hindoo who is thus blessed before his morning ablutions and prayers. So that it will be seen that the cow *, as well as Nundi, is held in the highest sanctity. Yet, with all their veneration, I have seen many instances where both bull and cow have been maltreated by low-caste Hindoos—instances where Mr. Martin's humane act of parliament was loudly called for: for, besides severely beating, and twisting the tail almost off, when the

* Any place of ceremony, or where food is cooked or ate, must be sanctified (as if with holy water) by being plastered with cow-dung. As a faithful historian, I could not well suppress the foregoing remarks.

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animal is restive or sulky, nothing is more common, if he will not get off the ground, than to stuff up his nostrils with a wet ball of mud, till he is almost frantic with pain, and necessarily rises off the ground. A respectable Hindoo, or a priest, like persons of the same class in England, are equally incapable of such conduct to the brute creation.

I have, thank the Fates, at length finished my account of Elora, and right glad am I. How that undertaking has been done is left to the judgment and indulgence of the public. My fidelity cannot, I believe, be impeached. To fine or classical writing I make no pretensions; and to learned or critical opinions I allow my utter incompetence. To this I may add, the impediments I met with from both my hands being contracted, and very weak *; the sight of my right eye nearly gone by ophthalmia, and the remaining one occasionally dim, with a cloud floating before it, from sympathetic affection, after writing too many pages at one sitting; my sight, from the same cause, not allowing me to add or revise any thing in my book by candle-light. I have still, as before observed, done my best, and must resign myself to the superior judgment and talents of wiser men, who may think proper to notice my work. "It is pleasing to have the strength of a giant, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

* Brought on by an excessive use of Goulard extract, whilst labouring under, for months, severe ophthalmia.

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CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON ELORA, &c. &c.

Worship of Stones—Brahmans and Budhists—Lotos—Cosmogony of the Hindoos—Visvacarma's Temple—Pyramids—Nundi or Apis—Monkeys and Peacocks—Lingham—Tortoise—Ganesa—Mähä Deo and Parvati—Vishnu—Rama—Pavana—Brahma—Raj Eeloo—Deo Ghur.

UNDER this head I purpose offering some notices on the subject of my narrative, some inquiries, and a few remarks on points connected therewith, before commencing our journey to Aurungabad.

Religious enthusiasts, in the early ages, always sought the gloom and retirements of forests and caves. Stones have, in the history of superstition, always held a pre-eminence, as objects of worship. In a religion like the Hindoo, where their numerous deities are identified with all the actions of a man's life, and every action of which the god is supposed to have influence and to be present at, carving these stones, to propitiate the deity, followed as a matter of course. As nations became civilised, the gods were not only by these means supposed to be conciliated, but their general attributes and character were carved on the "graven image," for their daily contemplation, and for the instruction of their youth. To this very day, in India, I have observed on the roadside, where a murder has been committed, a rude

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stone, with the figure of a horseman with a drawn sword; or, for robbery, a camel or bullock, having a pack on their back. Large heaps of stones are often seen by the road-side, on which are placed flags of a dirty brick-dust colour. To each of these heaps every pious traveller adds a stone as he passes, till the heap becomes a little mound. If any of these are at all like the Linga of Māhā Deo, it is sure to be selected, placed conspicuously upright, daubed with oil and red ochre, the peculiar colour of Brahma. The veneration for stones we find mention of in the blessed Scriptures, Genesis, chap. 28, verse 18: "And Jacob rose early in the morning, and took the stone he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured *oil* on the top of it." Other authorities might be adduced; but, while we have in England a Stonehenge, any further observations appear superfluous.

The following paragraph, written by the late Mr. Reuben Burrows, so well known in India * for many able papers on Hindoo literature, and an authority not to be disregarded, may in this place not be irrelative to our remarks on the stone mansions of Elora.

* Second volume of Asiatic Researches. The Edinburgh Review, July, 1804, may also be consulted. However desirous of giving the latter excellent authority at some length, my remarks on Elora, and my journey to Aurungabad in returning, preclude it, although such a valuable source offers an abundant supply of matter on Bhudism.

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"The pyramids of Egypt, as well as those lately discovered in Iceland, and probably, too, the tower of Babel, seem to have been intended for nothing more than images of Mâhâ Deo (Siva.) Stonehenge is evidently one of the temples of Budha: the religious ceremonies of the Papists seem in many parts a mere servile copy of those of the *Gosseins* and Fakeers. The different tenets of Popery and Deism have a great similarity to the two doctrines of Brahma and Budha; and as the Brahmans were the authors of the Ptolemaic system, so the Budhists appear to have been the inventors of the Philolaic or Copernican, as well as of the doctrine of attraction. That the Druids of Britain were Brahmans, is beyond the least shadow of doubt." P. 478. On the above I dare not offer an opinion, but submit it to the consideration of those who may not have seen the essay in question*.

The principal object of worship at Elora is the stone so frequently spoken of, the Lingham of "the changer of things," Mâhâ Deo (literally the great god), Siva. It is a symbol of him in his generative character; the base is inserted in the Yoni; the Ling is of a conical shape, and often a black stone, covered with flowers, (the *Belia* and *Asaca* shrubs); the flowers hang pendent from

* I am informed that Mr. Faber's profound work on Mythology is conclusive on this head: not having seen it I cannot think of offering any opinion.

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the crown of the ling-stone to the spout of the *Argha* or *Yoni*, (mystical matrix); not a whit better than the phallus of the Greeks and its ceremonies. Whatever enthusiasts may say to the contrary, this symbol is grossly indecent, and abhorrent to every moral feeling, let the subject be glossed over as it may. A print will, without offending decency, at once cut short all written description. Five lamps are commonly used in worship (*Puja*), at this symbol, but frequently one lamp having five wicks. Often the lotos is seen on the top of the Ling. The water that the Argha holds (the pedestal in which the Ling is inserted), is emblematical of Vishnu, and the dent or orifice in the frame, (Yoni) or rim, is called the navel of Vishnu. How comes it, as we find acknowledged by many, and which Major Moor supports both in his writings and prints, that Brahma sprang from the navel of Vishnu in the cup of the lotos? when it is asserted on the other hand, in Hindoo mythology, that Brahma was the *first* created being, and that Narayana was the spirit, the vivifying, animating, moving, abstract essence, so awfully expressed in our own divine book:

"And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

The gross fables and inapplicable allegories engrafted in *modern* times, have rendered the Hindoo mythology both disgusting and unintelligible. I have every respect for the mythology of

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the ancients: it is to that we owe science, arts, and history, and like the emblems in heraldry, it speaks a symbolical language. The primitive Brahmans were philosophers and sages; whilst their successors have, to confirm and enslave the minds of the people, degraded that system of mythology and science which originally was eminently grand and imposing. Of the lotos a few words more:—"The lotos is a prominent symbol in the Hindoo and Egyptian cosmogony. This plant appears to have the same tendency with the Sphinx, of marking the connexion between that which produces and that which is produced. Leo and Virgo, the Egyptian Ceres, (Virgo), bears in her hand the blue lotos*, which plant is acknowledged to be the emblem of celestial love, so frequently seen mounted on the back of Leo in the ancient remains." More might be quoted in illustration of a symbol seen so frequently in the temples of Elora; for Mr. Newton, in his learned essay on the zodiacs, makes mention of the Bull, the Serpent, &c. Another authority, Captain F. Wilford, on the sacred isles of the west, speaks on

* Ganga (Parvati) Ganges personified, is represented always with a lotos in each hand, and curious as it may appear, called Nil-Kumal, or blue lotos. Siva is called blue-throat, *blue*-water, or the sea. The setting sun and unknown western country are mysteriously represented by the Hindoos. We have Parvati again as Cali-Ma, *black* mother, time, or consumer: hence probably Calcutta, *Cutta* being sacrifice or slaughter.

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the same subject:—"The lotos floating on the water, is an emblem of the world: the whole plant signifies both the earth and its two principles of fecundation. The stalk originates from the navel of Vishnu, sleeping at the bottom of the ocean; and the flower is the cradle of Brahma or Mankind. The germ is both the Meru and Linga; the petals and filaments are the mountains which encircle Meru, and are also the type of the Yoni." We often perceive the snake proceeding from the top of the ling-stone, as well as the lotos; the latter doubtless alluding to Brahma, who for the space of two hundred years remained absorbed in contemplation in the cup of the lotos*. I probably shall not err much, or displease the general reader, by the insertion of the annexed translation of a Purana† by Mr. Halhed. It is somewhat long; but a subject relating to the cosmogony of the Hindoos cannot fail of being interesting; otherwise most certainly I would not obtrude the essay on public notice. I believe it is the translation of a manuscript written on the Puranas.

"We find Brahma emerging from the lotos. The whole universe was dark and water. On this primeval water did *Bhagavat* (God,) in a mas-

* Savary mentions the lotos in his Letters on Egypt.

† Generally, holy texts: the Vedas contain a large body of prayers, called Muntras, with maxims and exhortations, called Brahmana. Bhagavat is the Almighty. There is a fine exhortation called Bhagavat Geeta, (the Song of God).

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culine form, repose for the space of one *Calpa*, (a thousand years); after which period the intention of creating other beings for his own wise purposes became predominant in the mind of the *Great Creator*. In the first place, by his sovereign will, was produced the flower of the lotos; afterwards, by the same will, was brought to light the form of Brahma. From the said flower Brahma, emerging from the cup of the lotos, looked round on all the *four* sides, and beheld from the eyes of his four heads an immeasurable expanse of water. Observing the whole world thus involved in darkness and submerged in water, he was stricken with prodigious amazement, and began to consider with himself, 'Who is it that produced me? Whence came I? And where am I?'

"Brahma being thus kept two hundred years in contemplation, prayers, and devotions, and having pondered in his mind that without connexion of male and female an abundant generation could not be effected, again entered into profound meditation on the power of the Supreme, when, on a sudden, by the omnipotence of God, was produced from his right side *Swayambhuvah Menu*, a man of perfect beauty, and from Brahma's left side a woman named *Satarupa*. The prayer of Brahma runs thus: 'Oh, Bhagavat! since thou broughtest me from nonentity into existence, for a particular purpose, accomplish by thy benevolence that purpose.' In a short time a

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small white boar appeared, which soon grew to the size of an elephant. He now felt that God is all, and that all is from him, and all in him. At length the power of the Omnipotent had assumed the body of *Vara*. He began to use the instinct of that animal. Having divided the water, he saw the earth a mighty and barren stratum. He then took up the ponderous globe, (freed from the water), and spread the earth like a carpet on the face of the water. Brahma, contemplating the whole earth, performed due reverence; and, rejoicing exceedingly, began to consider the means of peopling the renovated world." *Pyag*, now Allahabad, was the first land said to have appeared; but with the Brahmans it is a disputed point, for many affirm that *Casi*, or Benares, was the sacred ground.

How happy is the idea of the illustrious men who formed these temples, these eternal houses of worship, contemplating with religious zeal the lotos on the walls of their temples!

At Visvacarma's temple are seen the large spherical altar, the arched roof with its stone ribs, emblematical of peace, and the pillars (like the fabled pillars of the world) embracing the orbicular vacuum, with the figure in front of the altar, evidently in prayer, as if meditating on the globe behind, and the vaulted heaven above, ribbed up with its stone rafters, and the tree or umbrella spreading over the altar, as the heavens do over our

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globe. All this is a beautiful illustration of the creation; for these temples were meant to last for ever, and to commemorate the unspeakable glory of the Almighty founder of the universe.

It is deeply to be lamented, that a demoralized and fanatical priesthood have, to answer their own ends, defiled and defaced the original ethics of a pure and moral people. Strange as it may appear, a Brahman of the modern day will on no account pronounce the name of the Almighty, nor that of Brahma, without drawing down his sleeve and placing it over his mouth in fear and trepidation; whilst a Christian of education will shamelessly and without hesitation profane his name every hour of the day. I believe our pointed steeples and the pyramids of Egypt are meant to represent a column of flame ascending to the heavens. The Hindoos have the same idea. Out of the crown of the head of Budha, a pyramidal flame ascends; and I have seen casts of Siva similarly represented, or the hair plaited in a circle as emblematical of eternity, with a flame ascending from the midst of the circle of hair on the crown of the head. This was an explanation of the emblem that a learned Brahman once gave me, and as such I narrate it: it is no fanciful hypothesis of mine.

As we have been speaking of the notions of the early Brahmans on their cosmogony, the annexed extract will, notwithstanding its length, prove ac-

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ceptable. It relates to one of the most awful subjects that can occupy the mind of man, viz.—the Creation of the World. It is an extract from the *Shastahs;* and my only motive in giving it, is to rescue the Hindoos from a generally received, though unfounded opinion, that they worship images alone as the Supreme Being, whereas the Trimurti are only the representatives of the Almighty, in his three characters of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. Brahma's reply to his son *Narud*, proves that he considers himself only as a created being, and not the Creator.

Narud, or Nareda, who is represented as the son of Brahma, and who wishes to be informed about the creation of the world, thus addresses his father: "O father, thou first of gods! thou art said to have created the world; and thy son Narud, astonished at what he beholds, is desirous to be instructed how all these things were made."—Brahma replies, "Be not deceived, my son. Do not imagine that I was the creator of the world, independent of the Divine Mover, who is the great original Essence, and Creator of all things. Look, therefore, upon me only as the instrument of the great Will, and a part of his being, whom he called forth to execute his eternal designs." Narud then asks, "What shall we think of God?" To which Brahma replies, "Being immaterial, he is above all conception; being invisible, he can have no

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form; but, from what we behold in his works, we may conclude that he is eternal, omnipotent, knowing all things, and present every where."

Narud again asks, "How did God create the world?" Brahma, in answer, says, "Affection dwelt with God from all eternity. It was of three different kinds: the creative, the preservative, and the destructive. The first is represented by Brahma; the second by Vishnu; and the third by Siva. You, O Narud! are taught to worship the three in various shapes and likenesses; as the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer. The affection of God then produced power; and power, at a proper conjunction of time and fate, embraced goodness, and produced matter. The three qualities, then, acting upon matter, produced the universe, in the following manner. From the opposite actions of the creative and the destructive qualities on matter, self-motion arose. Self-motion was of three kinds: the first inclining to plasticity, the second to discord, and the third to rest. The discordant actions then produced the *Ahass*; which invisible element possessed the quality of conveying sound: it also produced air, a palpable element; fire*, a visible element; water, a fluid

* Fire, being the purest element, has been always allowed to be the fittest symbol of the Almighty Power. In ancient days, it was an object of adoration. In the present day the Parsees (ancient disciples of Zoroaster, *Zeratusht*) worship fire in every shape: many of them will not extinguish a candle. It is by no

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element; and earth, a solid one. The Ahass dispersed itself abroad: air formed the atmosphere; fire, collecting itself, blazed forth in the hosts (stars) of heaven; water rose to the surface of the earth, being forced from beneath by the gravity of the latter element. Thus broke forth the world from the *veil of darkness*, in which it was formerly enveloped by God; order arose over the universe; the seven heavens were formed; and the seven worlds were fixed in their places, there to remain till the great dissolution, when all things shall be absorbed by God.

"God seeing the earth in full bloom, and that vegetation was strong from its seeds, called forth, for the first time, *intellect*, which he endued with various organs and shapes, to form a diversity of animals, with five senses—feeling, sight, smell, taste, and hearing: but to man he gave *reflection*, to raise him above the beasts of the field."

It remains now to say something of the type of Māhā Deva (Siva), the bull Nundi, the emblem of divine justice. The bull Nundi, like the Apis of Osiris, has worship paid to him. A white bull is preferred. The vehicle of Vishnu is an eagle; that of Brahma, a swan. These coincidences remind us of the white bull of Europa, the eagle of Jupiter, and the swan of Leda. Not only in India,

means improbable, that on the same account these excavated temples have a western aspect, that the glories of the setting sun may be worshipped.

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but in Persia and Egypt, was the bull worshipped as the principle of light; and I believe opinions have been entertained that the pyramids of Egypt were erected to his honour.

In contemplating the bull, as an object of idolatrous worship among the ancient nations, we must not lose sight of the constellation Taurus, which was the original. Taurus was the equinoctial sign when the zodiac was invented, four or five thousand years before the Christian era. If the bull represented the principle of light, the cow was esteemed his mythological consort. The cow then referred to the chaotic waters, and on this account, probably, the cow, in the mysterious pictures of Hindostan, pours from her lips the sacred river Ganges. In India, to this day, "in marriage ceremonies a cow is one of the actors." The horns of the urus proceed in a straight line from a centre to a point, and happily represent the rays of light. As we perceive in the popular fable of Hercules strangling two serpents in his cradle, an allusion to his connexion with the twelve signs, which were typified by two serpents; so, if we search into the Greek, or the eastern fables, in which the bull is an actor, we shall probably discover similar allusions to the esoteric learning of the ancients. The mysteries have left their traces in astrology, heraldry, the pack of playing cards, and perhaps in free-masonry. In the tricks practised on the first of April, in

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England, and the *huli* of the same time in India, once so generally the commencement of the year, the ancient mysteries may still be recognised. The Egyptians so revered Apis that they raised pyramids, gigantic enterprise! to entomb him. In their mythology, Osiris was identified with the bull, Isis with the cow. This consort of Osiris was carried off and possessed by Typhon, the evil principle. Men who deplore a parallel misfortune are said to wear horns, in allusion probably to this primeval imaginary elopement.

Figures of monkeys and peacocks are found carved in many of the temples. Both these animals are held in high veneration; and where British soldiers are stationed, the most positive orders are issued, by the local authorities, that no molestation be offered to them. On this subject a curious coincidence occurs in the first book of Kings, 10th chapter, 22d verse:

"For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish (Tarsus), with the navy of Hiram (Tyre). Once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and *apes* and *peacocks*."

It is singular that a people so remote from each other should distinctly mention these animals only; and a natural question arises on it: For what purpose could Solomon import apes and peacocks? On this question an observation or two may be hazarded. We know that the Hindoos were strictly forbidden, under severe penalties, from passing

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beyond the Indus. Instances are known where Hindoos of high character, proceeding on embassies to Persia, have for a time been degraded from their caste. It is very probable that many of the superstitions of the Egyptians, and other nations who held communication with India by Suez and the Red Sea, have borrowed many of their deities and customs from ancient India. The Hindoos being likewise forbidden to go on board of ship, it appears impossible that they could have adopted the forms or idols of other nations. They can neither migrate to distant countries, nor do they intermarry with foreigners; neither does their religion admit of proselytes or converts.

Of the Lingham, the emblem of Mahā Deo, which so frequently occurs at Elora, two sketches have been given in the plates, which will explain the form of this type. The circular part is the Yoni, or female nature; while the Ling, the upright stone in the centre, is male nature. The convexity in the centre, is sometimes termed the navel of Vishnu: the space round it, filled with water, is emblematical of Vishnu, as the god of water; while the Ling is a type of Siva, as regenerator. The bull Nundi is couchant directly opposite to the spout or orifice of the Yoni. Sometimes the tortoise is sculptured on the floor near it. The room in which it is placed is generally dark and gloomy; and oil lights are burned, to dimly illuminate the mystery and worship there

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celebrated. The ancient heathens worshipped two primordial principles, light and chaos; from whose union they believed all nature to have sprung. The Ling is symbolical, probably, of the marriage of those principles. It is to be found in almost every Hindoo temple.

Of the serpent we have already spoken. We will add a few words on the tortoise, often met with in the pagodas of the Hindoos.

Koorma, or the Tortoise, was the second Avatar of Vishnu. In this shape he bore the world upon his back, and lifted it out of the waters of the deluge. There is but one well-finished sculpture of the tortoise at Elora. Like the Sphinx at Keylas, it stands by itself, and not near a Ling, as often seen in Hindoo pagodas.

The tortoise, or turtle, refers, I conceive, to the original material of which the universe was constructed. There is a tortoise in one of the Mithraic monuments, published by Hyde. The engraving represents the suppression of the bull's power by Ahrimanes, the evil principle; and the coming prevalence of the scorpion in the celestial girdle.

The mountain Meru rests upon the back of the tortoise in Vishnu's *Koorma* Avatar. Danwantaree, the healing deity of Hindostan, emerges from the troubled ocean; and with him, the amrita, or beverage of immortality. In the Paris museum the colossal Esculapius wears *a turban*. The

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legend of Esculapius may throw light on the fable of Danwantaree.

Ganesa, so familiar to all Hindoo votaries, does not appear so frequently in these temples as we would be led to suppose, considering how generally he is worshipped in the western parts of India. Of this long-snouted, sagacious, and popular deity, a few words from Sir W. Jones's writings will not be amiss in this place.

"The titles and attributes of this old Italian deity are fully comprised in two choriambic verses of Sulpitius; and a farther account of him from Ovid would here be superfluous:

> Jane pater, Jane tuens, dive biceps, biformis,
> O cate rerum sator, O principium Deorum!

"'Father Janus, all-beholding Janus, thou divinity with two heads, and with two forms; O sagacious planter of all things, and leader of deities!'

"He was the god, we see, of wisdom; whence he is represented on coins with two *, and, on the Hetruscan image found at Falisci, with four faces; emblems of prudence and circumspection. Thus is Ganesa the god of wisdom in Hindostan, painted with an elephant's head, the symbol of sagacious

* Janus is also considered as symbolical of Noah (*Noo*), and his two faces looked on the old and new world—before and after the deluge.

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discernment, and attended by a favourite rat, which the Indians consider as a wise and provident animal.

"His next great character (the plentiful source of many superstitious usages) was that from which he is emphatically styled 'the Father,' and which the second verse before cited more fully expresses, 'the origin and founder of all things.' Whence this notion arose, unless from a tradition that he first built shrines, raised altars, and instituted sacrifices, it is not easy to conjecture: hence it came, however, that his name was invoked before any other god—that, in the old sacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incense also, were first offered to Janus—that the doors or entrances to private houses were called Januæ, and any pervious passage or thoroughfare, in the plural number, Jani, or 'with two beginnings'—that he was represented holding a rod, as guardian of ways, and a key, as opening not gates only, but all important works and affairs of mankind—that he was thought to preside over the morning, or beginning of day—that, although the Roman year began regularly with March, yet the eleventh month, named Januarius, was considered as first of the twelve: whence the whole year was supposed to be under his guidance, and opened with great solemnity by the consuls inaugurated in his fane, where his statue was decorated on that occasion with fresh laurel; and, for the same reason, a solemn denun-

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ciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military consul's opening the gates of his temple with all the pomp of his magistracy. The twelve altars and the twelve chapels of Janus might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months; or that, as he says of himself in Ovid, all entrance and access must be made through him to the principal gods, who were, to a proverb, of the same number. We may add, that Janus was imagined to preside over infants at their birth, or the beginning of life.

" The Indian divinity has precisely the same character. All sacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addresses, even to superior gods, all serious compositions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment, are begun with an invocation of *Ganesa;* a word composed of *isa*, the governor or leader, and *gana*, a company of deities. Instances of opening business auspiciously by an ejaculation to the Janus of India (if the lines of resemblance here traced will justify me in so calling him) might be multiplied with ease. Few books are begun without the words ' Salutation to Ganes;' and he is first invoked by the Brahmans, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the ' homa,' or sacrifice to fire. M. Sonnerat represents him as highly revered on the coast of Coromandel; ' where the Indians,' he says, ' would not, on any account, build a house, without having placed on

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the ground an image of this deity, which they sprinkle with oil, and adorn every day with flowers. They set up his figure in all their temples, in the streets, in the high roads, and in open plains at the foot of some tree: so that persons of all ranks may invoke him, before they undertake any business; and travellers worship him, before they proceed on their journey.' To this I may add, from my own observation, that, in the commodious and useful town which now rises at Dharmaranya, or Gaya, under the auspices of the active and benevolent Thomas Law, Esq. Collector of Rotas, every new-built house, agreeably to an immemorial usage of the Hindoos, has the name of Ganesa superscribed on its door; and in the old town, his image is placed over the gates of the temples."

In Bengal images of Ganesa are kept for worship, but rarely are temples erected to his honour. There is a festival in reverence of Ganesa on the fourth of the new moon in Bhadru, and another in the full moon in the month Maghu. M. Sonnerat, in his first volume, makes mention of Ganesa; but in this brief analysis a few particulars of the principal gods will suffice. As the tutelary deities of so many millions of people, and as the objects to whom the temples of Elora, the most singular and stupendous works the hand of man ever accomplished, are dedicated, it is absolutely necessary to say a few words on these important personages, however disinclined I may be to the wearisome

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task; and after the learned essay of Sir W. Jones on the gods of Greece, Italy, and India, Major Moor's "Hindoo Pantheon," and Mr. Faber's great work on the origin of Pagan idolatry, it were likewise a bootless one for me to offer any thing more than a few succinct notices of objects that have constantly been presenting themselves before our eyes throughout the late pages.

Māhā Deo and his consort Parvati. Siva is more generally worshipped than any other of the numerous deities on the western side of India. He has been likened to Osiris, to Saturn, and, in his character of Rudra, to Jove. Like Saturn, he delights in human sacrifices; and, as Māhā Cālā, he is Time. As with Osiris, the ox (Apis) is sacred to him. He has usually a collar or chaplet of skulls (Mund Mala), to denote his sanguinary character. At Elora he is generally represented with four hands: in Elephanta temple he has eight hands. From his head the Ganga (Ganges) descends: on his forehead is represented the moon. Sometimes he has three eyes, denoting, as some suppose, the past, present, and future. Serpents are seen issuing from the locks of his hair—hence his name Dhorr-Ghati, or, with twisted locks: but in his general compound name of Cal-Agni-Rudra—Time, Fire, and Fate—he is more usually known. His colour is a dirty white; and his votaries, the Sunayasses, bedaub themselves with the dust of cinders. The sectaries of this deity are named Saivas.

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Parvati, or Bhavani, or Maha Calî (the great goddess of time), like her lord, has skulls and snakes as her symbols. As Doorga, or active virtue, or difficult of access, she is held in high veneration; and to this day, in Bengal, great rejoicings take place at the Doorga Puja. Human sacrifices were formerly offered to this Hecate, or Proserpine. Bengal was the great seat of her superstitions. In the *Calica Purana*, one of her prayers, it is enjoined,—"Let princes, ministers of state, counsellors, and vendors of spirituous liquors, make human sacrifices, for the purpose of attaining prosperity and wealth."

"Let the victim offered to Devi (Parvati), if a buffalo, be five years old; and, if human, twenty-five."—*Ibid.*

The immolation of a human female is strictly forbidden. I have seen most horrible-looking casts of Parvati as Maha Cali, with the mouth distorted, and presenting large fangs, rather than teeth; the tongue protruded; nails very long, and curved; human skulls and snakes suspended round the neck; and she dancing on a dead body.

Vishnu falls next under our notice. As the Preserver, he is more beneficent, his attributes more gentle, and his appearance more pleasing. He may be said to counteract the evil produced by Maha Deo and his unamiable Sacti, or consort, Parvati. Vishnu's consort Lakshmi is in high estimation, as the "goddess of riches and plenty." Vishnu, when

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represented sleeping on the lotos, has four hands; his colour is dark blue—he holds a lotos: one of his chief ornaments is the conch or chank-shell (the buccinum); hence he is likened to Neptune, and again to Jupiter; his vehicle an eagle, sometimes with a human body. He is sometimes displayed riding on the large serpent Seesha, the symbol of eternity. He has probably more worshippers than the other two gods of the triad. Generally speaking, his followers may be comprehended under the title of *Vaishnavas*. I only purpose offering a brief summary of the chief divinities:—to go beyond that, one would be involved in an inextricable labyrinth of elaborate allegory, diffuse fable, mystic legends, all enveloped in deep obscurity and extravagant fiction.

Rama appears before us at Elora. He is an Avatar of Vishnu, and worshipped by a peculiar sect called *Ramatu*. Sir W. Jones thinks him the same as the Grecian Dionysos, and probably as the son of Cush. Rama, like Dionysos, was a great conqueror: the latter headed an army of satyrs commanded by Pan, while the former employed our old friend Hanuman to lead on his monkeys. Notices have been given of Hanuman and of Rama. Rama is the tutelar deity of the military caste (or Cshatriya). Both Rama and his spouse Sita are very popular divinities: the latter has several places named after her, as *Sita-Coond*, the hot well near Monghir, and *Sita-Buldee*, the Hill

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of Sita. (Peace be on the spot, and on my friends who reside there!) The custard-apple is called *Sita-phul*.

Pavana, the regent of the winds, is the father of Hanuman, and belongs exclusively to the Avatar of Rama, regent of the south-west, as *Agni* (Vulcan) is of the south-east. Indra, already mentioned, presides over the east; *Varuna*, the west; *Yama*, (king of hell) the south; *Varyovva*, the north-west; *Cuvera*, the north; and *Isawara*, the north-east.

Brahma is not frequently seen in the temples of Elora. He would appear not as the active agent of the Almighty Power, but as absorbed in the representations of Vishnu and Siva, as if it were that he had by the almighty fiat created, and the preserving and destroying attributes had been left to his coadjutors. True it is, very few altars are raised to him, but his name is pronounced with trepidation and profound reverence.

There is an interminable list of other gods, with their subordinate agents and sactis. Of goddesses, comparatively speaking, there are but few. The nine Avatars, or incarnations of Vishnu*, from

* "As Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, constituted the eastern Trimurti, so Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, were the Tritopatores of the western mythologists."

"As Brahma was attended by a swan on the sculptures of Elephanta, the western mythologists gave to Jupiter, on one occasion, the form of a swan, converted Seraswati into Leda, and delivered her of Castor and Pollux." *Page* 103 *of the* "*Three Enigmas attempted to be explained*," *by J. F. Newton, Esq.*

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the first or *Matsya*, the fish at the period of the deluge, down to the ninth or last in Budha, occupy an endless catalogue of fable and romance, the whole theory of which has, by the policy of the priests, in engrafting other events thereon, been greatly confounded. The tenth Avatar, like the Messiah of the Jews, is yet to come, as Kalkee, or the white horse; for a poetic description of which the reader is referred to the beautiful poem by Mr. Campbell.

Idols, stones, and graven images are not alone reverenced by the Hindoos. Trees, shrubs, and pieces of water, are in many places held in veneration: such was the tank, near the village of Elora; hence, probably, arose the celebrity of the place, and the idea of excavating the temples in the neighbourhood. The legend communicated to me by the Brahmans was—that Eeloo Rajah, whose father's territories were at Ellichpore, in the neighbouring kingdom of Hyderabad, was in a diseased state, and his body filled with maggots; but by dipping a cloth in the sacred spot, and rubbing it over his body, he was cleansed of the maggots, and a speedy cure effected. It is unnecessary to dwell on this extravagant fable, when it is added that the cistern, or *koond*, in which Eeloo bathed, was reduced from a large sheet of water, by the *commands of Vishnu*, to the small size of a cow's hoof, and that the event happened 7894 years ago. There is scarcely a chronological event of the

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Hindoos to which they do not attach some monstrous absurdity to awaken your wonder, but which they themselves implicitly believe. So pleased was Eeloo with his cure, that he instantly set about excavating the temples as a mark of his gratitude and piety. History informs us that Eeloo Raj flourished 930 years ago. It is well to observe, that what we write Ellichpore, is pronounced by the natives Eelechpore (the place of Eel). What we write Elora, or Ellora, the natives, Mahomedans, and Hindoos pronounce Yeroola, and Eeloora, as did my Brahman, who was a native of Poona. The Mussolmans have a tradition somewhat similar, save the fiction regarding the maggots and the cure of the Eel Raj. They say he first excavated the caves; then, being pleased with his handy-works, he tried his ingenuity upon the mountain at Dowlutabad, which certainly is nothing but a huge mountain of rock hewn all round, insulated, and one entire mass of scarping. This strong fortress is the key to the Deccan. Its Hindoo name of Deo Ghur Fort of God) assimilates with its vicinity to the houses of the gods; but then, if this is the fact in what regards Eeloo, what becomes of the name by which it was known to the ancients as Tagara? or, probably, Eeloo only fortified the hill.

The wonderful man who first occupied himself in forming the curious and astonishing temples at Elora, would probably have wished to have had

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as equally singular and curious a fortress in its vicinity for refuge in times of need; and that he obtained in the fortress of Dowlutabad (city of riches)*. I shall have occasion to speak of this fortress in its proper place; but I cannot give a better idea of its value and importance than by mentioning that it was betrayed and sold by a former governor, Fatté, to Mahobet, for an annual pension of 25,000*l.* These acts of treachery are as common in Asia as they are uncommon with us. To the fidelity of the British character, and our non-interference in the laws, customs, and above all, the religious prejudices of the natives, do we owe our power and prosperity in India. Once let us, as fanatics and reformers, suddenly and directly interfere with their institutions and creeds, and farewell to India.

Those persons who wish for any political information regarding Hyderabad are referred to the Big Blue Book, a little mountain of a volume, (700 folio pages,) entitled, "Hyderabad Reminiscences," published by authority, at the India House.

* The province is very fertile, but of late years has been in a distracted state. In an old book, the *Soubah* is said to have produced 12,180,413 rupees. The capital (Hyderabad) is 141 miles N. E. of Aurungabad.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Siva's Koond—Banyan Tree—Brahmans—Zeratoosht—Christianity—Medical Skill—Demoralization of the ancient Hindoos—AUM—Polytheism—Former Travellers—Solomon's Temple—English Authors—Linschoten—Father Gamelli—Sir W. Jones—Farewell to ELORA.

THE people about Elora affirm, that there is a subterranean communication to Dowlutabad. I heard the same report on the road. It is said to commence at the dismal spot where I fell into the water. Whether such a passage exists or not is a dubious matter; but all we can say is, that the workmen who, with incredible labour, have hewn out the mountain of Elora, and have done the same at Dowlutabad, were capable of performing any labour, however arduous, in completing the two grand works,—one for religious purposes, the other for defence, and both the offspring of the chisel. The cistern where Eeloo was cured and purified is still held in high sanctity, and is visited by numbers of pilgrims. It is called Siva's Koond (Māhā Deo's cistern), Turt or Teert-hee (place of pilgrimage.) A large establishment of priests was maintained by the Holkar family. The well is near the village; but no one but a Brahman of the highest order is allowed to touch the water, and to dispense the miraculous liquid to the devout and faithful.

In a former part I have mentioned two or three

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sacred plants: the cocoa-nut tree is one; the prolific and beautiful mango-tree * is another: nor is the banyan-tree, as we erroneously call the racimiferous fig-tree, (*ficus Indica*) omitted; its large size, the shade it affords, but above all to the Hindoo imagination, its branches spreading out with sprigs descending and taking root in the ground, and reproducing from the parent stock a family of trees, is quite in accordance with their ideas of the generative power; consequently, the Ling or Hanuman is often seen carved on a stone, and resting among the descending branches.

In the beautiful and soft scenery of Indian landscape, nothing in the vegetable kingdom can be grander than a venerable and majestic banyan, with its numerous offsprings spreading around the parent like so many pillars. Why should I proceed farther in description, when Milton has so sweetly sung its characters?

"The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd
But such as at this day to India known
In *Malabar* or *Deccan* spreads her arms,

* No fruit in England, in my opinion, is equal to the fine and sweet Alphonso mango, so named from a graft introduced by the Portuguese. They are sometimes as big as the top of a pint pot; they are not luscious to the taste, neither are they soft: they are firm and unexcelled in flavour by any fruit whatever, and while they last, the supply is most bounteous. What is singular in this fruit is, that scarcely any two mangoes off the same tree are of the same colour inside.

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Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree; a pillar'd shade,
High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between."

Some of these trees cover a large piece of ground, where a hundred people might be well shaded, and dine at tables in these sacred groves *. A sylvan god (*Kubur-bur*) is generally found, to whom devotions are paid by the Hindoo, not to the idol, but as a representation or memento of the Almighty's goodness and energies. Isaiah, 40th chapter, 20th verse, probably alludes to the Banyan tree, which *never rots?* "He that is so impoverished that he hath no oblation, chooseth a tree that will *not rot;* he seeketh unto him a cunning workman to prepare a graven image that shall not be moved."

It is not my intention to enter into any theological discussion; for too much has already been written and said on the subject of converting the Hindoos, an act which I consider quite impracticable.

The ancient Brahmans of India avoided cities, and sought the solitudes of forests and caves, where they could pursue their religious duties in peace and retirement; uniting with the character of priests those of sages, philosophers, and law-givers †.

* *Khubber,* (Arabic) Great. There is a Banyan tree near Broach, which is said to be so immensely large as to afford shelter to six thousand persons at one time. The words *Nadir* and *Zenith,* which we have borrowed, are Arabic.

† In the institutes of Menu, the great law-giver, it is ordained,

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By divine command they are the only class allowed to expound the scriptures; the other orders are strictly forbidden even perusing them. The vast influence they possessed was increased by their supposed divine descent. In possessing all the learning of the country, they obtained all the power; and to this day they fill the highest offices in the native governments, even at Mahomedan courts. Their persons are held sacred and in the highest sanctity. That the temples of Elora were the seat of learning as well as of religion, is admitted by the Hindoos; and also that in those glorious retreats science was cultivated, and its benefits disseminated by the younger Brahmans, who occasionally quitted their abodes to seek for employment at the native courts. There is, in fact, a tradition that *Zeratoosht* (Zoroaster) during the time of Hystaspes, visited the Brahmans in the caves or temple at *Garri-pouri*, (Elephanta* island); and while residing there was initiated in different learning

chap. 1, verse 99, "When a Brahman springs to light he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury of deities, religious and civil." Chap. 8, verse 380, "Never shall the king slay a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes: let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure, and his body unhurt," chap. 9, verse 317. A Brahman, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity, even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular.

* Sometimes called *Selen Deve*, or island of the gods. Deva (masculine) corrupted into Deo, as in the feminine Dévi.

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and sciences, with which he returned and enriched Persia.

I think Porphyry mentions Zeratoosht retiring to a cave in Media with the instruments and knowledge he had obtained from the Brahmans. At that early period the Brahmans were in a high state of civilization and refinement, nor could any place be a fitter abode for learned men than the noble houses at Elora, the work of their own hands and the residence of all their gods. It is these men that the missionaries ought first to subdue and convert: the rabble will soon follow; but preaching to the multitude on things utterly incomprehensible to them, and to shake a faith so firmly rooted as the Hindoo by mere preaching and holding forth in villages and fields, is as the breath of man contending with a stormy wind. I love the Hindoos, and do not like to see them calumniated by men sometimes more ignorant than themselves, and not always more virtuous. If a man will open his eyes, and view with an unprejudiced vision, he will see much to admire in the Hindoo character. Weak, ignorant, and prejudiced men, half fanatic and half mad, think proper to vilify and traduce an affectionate, intelligent, and *loyal* people, because they will not abandon the gods of their forefathers, and take up a creed at the mere fiat of a foreigner, and learn doctrines about which in fact some of our most learned and pious men have differed in opinion.

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Is there not in this well-meant but intemperate zeal to convert the millions of India something visionary and dangerous? or, supposing that a portion may become converts for the sake of any civil advantages that might be held out to them, what would be the ultimate result? In my opinion, it would be the loss of India; and when we were expelled, the people would return to their former heathenism and idolatry.

Ours is a revealed religion, established amidst the thunders and commands of the Most High. The propagators of it performed miracles,—the way was made straight,—the event had been prophesied, and the prophecies were fulfilled. The inspired writers foretold miracles and wonders, which were duly accomplished. The awful event was decreed, and men became Christians; but what signs have we to give to the Hindoos? When we tell them it is the will of the Most High, and that their time is come, they laugh us to scorn. When the Almighty thinks fit, the "saving health" will be spread among all nations, without the aid of us poor helpless wretched mortals. The motives may be good, and I believe are so; but radical conversion is utterly impracticable of accomplishment, and the experiment is fraught with vast difficulty and danger. Savages may be easily converted, for they will receive and believe any thing, particularly if attended with novelty and a promise of future benefits; but the case is widely

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different with the polished and enlightened people of India.

As I am aware that much delusion exists on the subject of the missions in India, I will, a few pages hence, offer on it a few distinct observations, gathered during my long sojourn in the fertile plains of Hindoostan. One word more:—where is the distinction between the Brahman of Elora worshipping the representative form of God in a stone, and the Catholic worshipping the saint on canvas? None that I can perceive. But what says the author of Quentin Durward on the subject in the 2d vol. p. 167.

"That the object of his devotion was misplaced was not the fault of Quentin; and its purpose being sincere, we can scarce suppose it unacceptable to the only true God, who regards the motives and not the form of prayers, and in whose eyes the sincere devotion of a heathen is more estimable than the specious hypocrisy of a Pharisee."

Compare the unaffected homage of a poor Hindoo to the stiff-necked, proud, selfish Christian, and the preference decidedly rests with the poor heathen. St. Luke has admirably noticed the Scribes, chap. 20, verses 46 and 47.

During my stay at Elora I met with no interruption whatever from the residents or visitors at the temples. I had but little intercourse with the village. The small supplies I required, as milk, grass, rice, &c. were daily sent up to my tent by

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the *Kutval*, a Brahman, who was the head man of the village. For those necessaries he wished to decline payment. The *Baae* (Holkar's mother) defrayed all charges of pilgrims, &c.; but as I did not exactly come under that denomination, I begged to be under no obligation to her highness's bounty. The good-tempered Brahman was not to be evaded; he insisted that I had cured several persons by means of my medical skill, and in dispensations of the "most excellent English medicine." If any radical cures were effected, it was by means of a good dose of calomel. One cure was ascribed to me which ought to have been ascribed to nature: it was extracting a long worm (*Narroo*) from the foot between the toes and the instep. I believe they are known to us as the guinea-worm. If they break inside the skin some danger may be apprehended. While they are forming under the skin or membrane, they cause an excruciating pain. I had once seen a worm extracted: the swelling was brought to a head by repeated poulticing, and then delicately perforated, and a small straw worked under the worm, round which with great care by the person performing the operation, he was by the motion of the straw twisted and extracted*. Others of my patients who were mere hypochondriacs were cured by a very common medicine in Europe, faith and imagination,

* I think Tavernier mentions that he was afflicted with one.

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which in many disorders and with many persons will kill or cure. Some of my patients I am certain were in this case, as, my dispensary running low, I was fain to substitute pills with little more than flour and water.

While I resided at Elora we were once or twice disturbed by reports of Bheels being in the neighbourhood, but they did not make their appearance. The majority of the devotees who came to Elora were the disciples of Siva. There were but few Vishnavas or followers of Vishnu; and the *Suryas* paid equal devotion to Ganesa, as though they were of the Ganapatya sect *. It was allowed by the devotees and Brahmans on all sides, that the temples were exclusively dedicated to Siva, whose symbols and type occur in almost every temple. It is only in two or three of the lesser temples in the northern range that we recognize Brahma, Ganesa, and Bhavani, and in those temples where the marriage rites were celebrated and represented in sculpture on the walls. Ganesa as the god of prudence, Bhavani as Venus, and the Sacti of Siva, with Brahma as the creating power, are certainly fit personages to be honoured and to preside at nuptials. Though

* Brahmans or priests, Saivas (Siva), Vaishnavas, (Vishnu), the Suras, who worship Surya or the Sun, the Ramatus, who worship Rama, the Ganapatyas, disciples of Ganesa, and the *Sactas* (female energies), who worship Bhavani; these are again subdivided into an endless chain. This is a brief outline of the chief sects.

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the glories of Elora have for ever faded away, the stupendous monuments of a former people will remain for thousands of years; but, with the exception of casual pilgrims and half a hundred resident Fakeers, (*Phuckeers*) and a few Brahmans, the temples are desolate and abandoned; and I am informed at the present moment almost forsaken. Since the reverses which have taken place in the once powerful Holkar family, the support afforded by them to pilgrims and others has necessarily been withdrawn.

The invasions of India by foreigners, their own intestine and annihilating warfare incessantly pursued for centuries, the revolution which has taken place in the Hindoo character, partly from their contact with the invaders, but more from the injustice and tyranny they have experienced at the hands of their Mahomedan masters; these sad events, and the received opinion that the Emperor Aurungzebe profaned and violated these their most sacred shrines by sacrificing oxen and cows within the walls of a *few* of the temples, have of course, as places of religious retirement or pilgrimages, brought them into disrepute; and the distracted state of the country is another cause why so few now visit these once hallowed and venerated caves. I do not think, that, during my abode, more than forty Brahmans came from a considerable distance to pay their devotions at Elora; and they bitterly lamented the fallen grandeur of the place.

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The Brahmans, I more particularly observed, first of all visited the arched temples called after Visvacarma. An intelligent and communicative Brahman, who had come from Hydrabad, informed me, on being politely questioned on the subject, that the temple of Visvacarma was dedicated to the Supreme Being, and on pronouncing the mystical triliteral word AUM in silence, he made three low reverences, with a cloth over his mouth. I afterwards showed these mystic characters to him, and he admitted they were the sacred syllable he had used, but on no account would he repeat them aloud. Each letter mystically signifies the creator, preserver, and destroyer. It frequently occurs in the *Gayatri*, which Sir William Jones terms the mother of the Vedas, or scriptures. It is a text held in the highest veneration by the Hindoos. I have alluded to the word AUM, which has puzzled the most eminent orientalists, merely for the purpose of introducing a pious and learned Brahman's opinion on the vaulted temple. On another visit in company with him, producing the mystic syllable, he pointed to the circular altar as an emblem of eternity, without beginning or end: the arched roof, he said, was space; the whole representing the creative power of the Supreme Being, one and alone; Brahma, Budha, and the other deities being only agents and representatives of the great Creator's attributes.

It were almost unnecessary to repeat these ob-

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servations a second time, while all Hindoo writings confirm the above; but a mistaken notion existing in the minds of many well-meaning but uninformed Christians, that the Hindoos worship idols, as the *sole* object of their adoration, when they only worship numerous symbols of the Almighty's power, his emanations, his energies, and his essences; or, as it is explained in the *Seev Pooran*, "Before the system of the *Brahmānde*, which is the manifestation of the world, *Shree-Bhagavan-Jiu* was *single* and *alone*. His beauty beyond the imagination of all hearts, and the expression of all tongues!"

"We are only manifestations of *his* three powers."—*M. S. Pooran.*

In the *A'tharva Veda*, it is said, "Where they who know the *Great One* go, through holy rites and through piety, *thither* may *Brāhma* conduct me!"

"May Brāhma lead me to the Great *One*."—*Ibid.*

So much for the polytheism of the Hindoos.—The above are but three out of a hundred texts that might be selected to refute the ill-grounded opinion regarding the Hindoos; but we will directly take the subject of reforming and converting the Hindoo distinctly and dispassionately under review, without being influenced by the hostility of zealots, or the lamentations of persons totally ignorant of what they have so injudiciously undertaken—of the country, of the people, and of their customs. The plans and the management of them, I am afraid, in

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some few have had their source in sinister views, in gratifying personal vanity, and in a desire of being thought very pious and very charitable.

M. Thevenot was the first foreigner, I believe, who visited the temples of Elora. He observes, that for about two leagues nothing is to be seen but temples (chap. 44). This is most inexcusable: there are, to be sure, many very small inferior rooms, or a kind of cells; but two miles would have been nearer than two leagues. * M. Thevenot was but two hours inspecting them; and he speaks of his fear in passing under the excavated mountain. Without wishing to detract from the merit of former travellers, I must observe, that from personal observation I have discovered much inaccuracy, and occasionally wilful exaggeration. Dr. Robertson's erroneous statement has, in a former page, been spoken of.

Sir Charles Mallet's account is for the greater part accurate and explanatory. Some few apartments are omitted, the names are sometimes improperly applied, and a few of the dimensions are upon too large a measurement. The drawings are very correct, considering they were done by a na-

* Niebuhr the traveller, in writing of the Elephanta temple, says there are *four* ranges of pillars; instead of which there are *five*. By a strange mistake M. Perron terms the chubdars (menial servants and public criers) saubadars, which literally signifies "lord of a province, or keeper of a subah." These are but trifles compared to some errors.

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tive artist. Sir Charles himself was in bad health, and some of the observations were supplied by the Pandit (Brahman) who accompanied him. The account is indubitably the best extant; in fact, it is the only one written expressly on the subject. The artist employed by Governor Boon of Bombay, to make drawings of the temples on Salsette, asserted that it would require the labour of 40,000 men for forty years to finish them (Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 386).—We are told, that in the building of Solomon's temple there were 180,000 workmen for seven years and a half, or for seven years 1,360,000, while in Salsette, for the same time, it would be 1,600,000 *.

We may, without any wide conjecture, from the *greater* number of temples, *superiority* in size, and *vast* profusion of figures and ornaments, at a moderate computation treble the number of years and workmen which it would have taken at Elora! How happy am I that I have viewed and lived in these truly wonderful and unrivalled works, the production of the remotest antiquity, begun and finished by a people of whom we have even no tradition!!

Had Major Moor extended his travels to Elora, he would, by personal inquiry, greatly have enriched his elaborate work on Hindoo mythology. The same observation applies to Lord Valentia's Travels in India. His lordship and the major were residing at Poona, ninety-two miles on the

* The odd half year is omitted in this calculation.

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road. Lord V. was, I believe, however, limited as to time; and was obliged, on account of the setting in of the monsoon in the Red Sea, to hasten his journey. To Mrs. Graham, authoress of the interesting Letters on India, the journey would have been both difficult and dangerous. From Colonel Fitzclarence's excellent work, his journey across India, I have, in a former page, taken the liberty of making an extract. Could *he* have spared time from the important and pressing duties he had to discharge, probably *my* labours would have been anticipated, and the relation of the Wonders of Elora have fallen into more able hands.

The old traveller, Linschoten, in his quaint way, according to the fashion of the day, mentions the temples in Salsette, as being "devilish and frightful to view." Some few of them certainly have a dismal look, particularly the *Amboolee* *, which is descended by a few steps, and is rather dark. He might easily mistake the Ganesas and Hanumans, and Varunas, besmeared with oil and red ochre, for devils. Not so at Elora; there the figures are of superior design and execution, and the temples stand on a commanding height, having in front a plain of gentle acclivity, with but little brushwood and a few single trees, but nothing like jungle; while those

* I am not over partial to far-fetched or overstrained etymologies, but may not this word be AUM; and Bullee, an inferior deity, pronounced Boulee?

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on Salsette are situate in the midst of gloomy and thick forests, the growth of centuries, and abounding with wild beasts *. Father Gamelli, the Jesuit, states the number of caves on Salsette at six hundred, probably exceeding the real number by about four hundred, even if every room, dormitory, and cistern was counted; but the reverend Jesuit was the prince of —— why what? why, *Fabulists*, to whom the renowned and worthy De Pinto was but a type.

There may have been other travellers who have

* My worthy friend and old companion, Captain Barton, and I, were once pursuing our course over a perilous path, hanging over a deep valley and forest, winding round the brow of a high mountain, sufficient only in breadth for one person to pass at a time, and where small holes were cut in the face of the mountain for the fingers to grip by. We were proceeding to a cave, the entrance of which we had observed when in the valleys. About half way of our path we came to some fresh tiger's dung, and by the mark of his paws we perceived he had gone onwards. Being unarmed, we had no wish to disturb him; and as the path was too narrow for us to pass each other amicably, we thought it best to retire. In this day's peregrinations we discovered 142 steps cut in the rock, to make the passage easier over the brow of the mountain. This island possesses some beautiful and very rich scenery: it abounds with sculptures and mythological remains. I believe the word signifies the island of sixty-five villages. It has, doubtless, in former days been in a high state of cultivation, and very populous; but the infamous conduct of the early Portuguese drove the meek and suffering Hindoos away. In making Christians they committed every kind of atrocity: they taxed the sectarial mark, and the sacerdotal thread of the Hindoos, and the Inquisition and Auto-da-fé were called in to aid them in their desolating and hellish fanaticism.

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spoken of Elora; but residing, as I do at present in a remote part of England, and having access to books limited in number, and more so in kind, and not possessing the means of procuring them from London, I transcribe from my original papers, and have to depend on memory; and few men have the happiness to be blessed with a better. I will close my observations on the temples of Elora, and of the extraordinary people who formed them, in the beautiful and forcible language of Sir William Jones. Such a people, such a country, and such works deserve the opinion of that great and learned man.

"Encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of science, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the production of, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men."

One farther remark before we quit Elora. On our return, *via* Aurungabad, during the time I was engaged in my pleasing pursuits at this place, living on a vegetable diet, and drinking of the pure springs in the temples, I never had better health, slept sounder, or was half so cheerful: the serenity of mind was delightful, and I possessed an elasticity of spirits which I never before experienced. The grand objects before me, the beauty of the surrounding country, the profound stillness

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of the greater part of the temples, a blue cloudless sky all day, the mornings and evenings cool, a few miles' hard riding, and bathing in the cold springs of Elora, must have made any man happy who was young and had no cares; but if a man is so dead to right feeling that he chooses not to be happy within himself, neither the splendours of Carlton-house, nor the tranquil beauties of the more durable houses of Elora, will make him so. I am so partial to the following lines, that I feel a pleasure in transcribing them.

"From crowded streets and busy throngs I fled,
Where woodland scenes and quiet valleys spread.
Fair Nature's haunts, unwearied, I explored;
Where sang the stream, where falling waters roar'd.
A fond enthusiast, on the mountain's brow
I heard the echo babble from below;
I loved the dingle and the tangled dell,
And crept with silence to her hermit cell."

So adieu to the hermit's cell, the peaceful vales, and the monastic retreats hollowed out of the very heart of a mountain of granite! Adieu to these subterranean temples and dwellings, the construction of which, by the ingenuity and labour of man, would stagger belief, did we not know to what extraordinary lengths religious zeal has carried men in all ages, and, we may add, in all countries!

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CHAPTER XV.

Departure to Aurungabad—Roza—Mahomedan Cemeteries—Fortress of Dowlutabad—Treachery—Polygamy and Concubinage—French Party—Native Courts—British Residents—Quit Dowlutabad—Native Governments—Arrive at Aurungabad—Sarāe—Cogitations—Sibundee—Invitation from Mr. Johnson—Beef and Wine—Dancing Girls—Tam Tams—Nautch.

On the twenty-fourth of October I bade a final adieu to the tranquil abodes and beautiful scenery at Elora, again to seek the busy haunts of men—to plunge into their tumultuous scenes, anxieties, and troubles. As my path wound past the most southern temple in the range, I cast a "longing, lingering look behind." Whether it is the mystery in which these immortal works are involved, the stupendous character of the undertaking, or the sweet retirement and solitude in which they are placed, I am at a loss to say; but certain it is that I felt a great desire to return, take another glance at the chambered mountain, and proceed on my journey in the cool of the evening. Once more I turned my horse's head round, stopped, and took leave of a number of pilgrims, devotees, and others, who had accompanied me a few hundred yards in respectful silence. They wished me well, gave the well-known shout of Māhā Deo!

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Mâhâ Deo! and quitted me with looks bespeaking kindness and regret.

Winding round the mountain of Elora, the road becomes very steep; and it is not long before the whole landscape about the temples is withdrawn from the sight. Distant a mile and a half stands the neat little town of Roza*, celebrated as containing the mortal remains of the once powerful Emperor Aurungzebe, and those of the founder of the city of Boorhan-poor. This man, a Mahomedan Fakeer, was an intriguing, artful, and vicious prophet: for as such he was received. His name was Boorhan Ood Deen. Peace be to his ashes! He lies in good company; for the mighty emperor was but little better than the humble mendicant Boorhan. The saint, however, is housed in much better quarters than the emperor. A number of lamps were burning within the mausoleum. The upper part of the tomb was covered with a piece of green† velvet, having tassels and fringe. Many *Pirs* (holy men) were in attendance; and two large *nobuts*, or drums, were outside. The doors are plated with silver. The charnel-house of the conquering Aurungzebe is but a poor monument of either his taste or liberality. The building, com-

* Roza, or Rozah, signifies the "place of tombs." The Turks use the same word, but I believe it is Persian.

† Green is a sacred colour, and only used by Seyds and Hadjis. The former are descendants of the Prophet; the latter, those who have performed the pilgrimages.

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pared with those which I have seen at Bangalore and Colar, in the Mysore (for the members of the late Tippoo's family), is vastly inferior. There are several tombs, said to be of great or pious men, about Roza, which place was the court burying-ground when Aurungabad was the capital of Aurungzebe's dominions.

The Mahomedans are fond of an elevated spot. Generally cypress-trees and tanks are found close to the mausoleums; flowers are strewed over; and the graves are visited daily, with much affectionate feeling, by the relatives of the deceased. They never, as we do, bury their dead in the midst of towns, with the coffins stowed away like butter-casks in an Irish trading-sloop; neither are sheep allowed to fatten on the rank vegetation: nor are the bodies huddled into the grave, with a few hasty prayers read over, and no more thought of the business. The Mussulman, with respectful piety, visits the tomb of his ancestor, plants trees round the grave, strews odoriferous flowers over the tomb, and daily visits the ground where lie the mortal remains of him, or her, to whom he owes his existence. There is something very grateful and pleasing in this unaffected duty and respect to the silent dead, particularly as nothing is to be gained by it; for it is *that* which actuates and propels the actions of ninety-nine men out of one hundred.

The town of Roza stands on a table-land of considerable height, the view from which is very

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beautiful and varied. Aurungabad is seen in the distance; and, a few miles off, the astonishing fortress of Dowlutabad, rising, with its scarped face, almost pyramidally, to a great altitude. The town of Roza has a good stone-wall, and is entered by a gate. It has formerly been a place of some note. I was very much displeased at seeing beef exposed for sale in the bazaar. How it must harrow up the feelings of pious Hindoos at seeing the *sacred* ox bleeding on the shambles so near to the houses of the gods at Elora! Well may the temples be deserted, and the name of Aurungzebe execrated by the Hindoos. We ought to respect the customs of all nations as long as they respect ours; and, as long as there is nothing inhuman or cruel in them, we have no possible right to outrage or insult their feelings, be they Heathens, Pagans, Jews, or Christians.

Quitting Roza, and proceeding over the table-land, we arrive at the top of a g'hāt, which, to render the descent easy, has been entirely paved by one of Aurungzebe's courtiers. Small pillars are placed about midway in the road mentioning the event, but I did not dismount to inspect them. In the plain at the foot of the g'hāt stands, at a distance of two miles and a half, the celebrated fortress of Dowlutabad.

As we proceed on, this prodigious block of rock becomes better defined, rising abruptly to a height of upwards of five hundred feet. The summit is a

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little pointed. From the base upwards, to a height of about one hundred and fifty feet, the rock is scarped, and presents a perpendicular naked wall. Its insulated position and its scarped sides offer as singular a specimen of human ingenuity and labour as I ever met with. I have heard it likened in appearance to the small temple in front of Indra, and likewise to a compressed bee-hive. It is defended by four walls within each other, and has a ditch. The town is within the walls. These walls in themselves are a good defence against native troops in approaching the citadel: but the most singular thing in this extraordinary fortress is the passage to the upper works, being hewn out of the very heart of the mountain, winding and ascending to the top of the hill. The first part of the ascent is easy. The height of the gallery winding through the mountain averages from ten to twelve feet, and nearly the same in breadth; and torches are used by those who have occasion to pass to and fro. In case this subterranean passage should be forced, there are small trap-doors, with flights of steps communicating with the outer ditch.

Allowing that this very difficult gallery was carried by the assailants, destruction would betide those whose temerity led them on to find an egress. There is an opening in a hollow of the rock nearly nineteen feet square; but this, in case of danger, is covered over by an immense plate of iron, on which a large fire is kindled; and, that the fire

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shall burn fiercely, a hole, three feet in diameter, is perforated through the rock, out of which rushes a constant breeze, acting the part of bellows. Above and beyond this the road to the summit is very steep, and on the top is some scattered and stunted brushwood.

The house of the killahdar is said to be a handsome building, enclosed by a large viranda. On the very top is a brass twenty-four pounder, and near it is the flag of the Nizam. At a distance of about three thousand yards from the insulated hill are two ranges of hills. Within the subterranean passage mentioned, are recesses excavated as store-rooms. The fortress at present mounts but few guns. Dowlutabad has always been thought by the natives impregnable, and doubtless it is against the Asiatic mode of warfare. Our system of military tactics and operations has put these hill-forts out of fashion.

To a native government what avails the strength of a fortress, when the defenders have all of them their price? When I passed by Dowlutabad, in these, comparatively speaking, peaceable times, the family of the killahdar (governor) were kept as hostages at Hyderabad. This want of fidelity in the superior officers, and their rude mode of warfare, have given us the advantage in the field and in the cabinet. Unquestionably there are not braver people in the world than the Hindoos and Mussulmans; but the fact is, they cannot depend

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upon each other; and, though we generally trust to our arms and straight-forward policy with each prince and contending party, bribery and corruption are successfully put in practice. In my humble opinion, another great source of evil to the princes of Hindostan is polygamy and concubinage. Each son and mother has a separate interest, separate views, and separate parties. The sons, if intrusted with power in the command of a district, or an army, are sure to be opposed to each other, and the most disastrous consequences ensue. If they remain at the capital, by their intrigues and machinations they are certain of doing mischief and producing discord. To such lengths had the ruinous ambition of a large family of sons gone, that it was not very uncommon to blind one*, and deprive another of the power of propagating his species.

The downfall of the power raised by Aurungzebe may be traced to the almost constant rebellions of his unnatural brothers, each of whom, to use a vulgar metaphor, "wanted to set up in business for himself," never caring by what means. Innumerable instances might be quoted to prove the unnatural conduct and base ingratitude of members of the same family, but the offspring of different mothers. The total absence of all moral feeling, filial attachment, and the ties of blood, is as com-

* Shah Jehan, the father of Aurungzebe, to secure his succession, murdered every male relative in his family.

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mon with Mahomedans* as it is rare among the British. I do not hesitate for once to say, boldly and unequivocally, that the rule of the British in India is the greatest blessing to the immense population of India, and that the people in all parts of the country appreciate it as such. I can speak as an eye-witness. With the early era of our conquests and settlements I have nothing to do; I speak of the time in which I live.

The fortress of Dowlutabad, and the surrounding country, belonged to the Hindoos until (in 1294) the invasion of Alla, a general in the imperial service. It was then left in charge of Ul Mullick Kafer, an Abyssinian slave. Shortly after Ram Deo, an Indian prince and his son became victims to the rapacity and cruelty of the invaders, and, after four years' persecution, he was finally stripped of his dominions, and his son, to prevent further trouble, put to death: this was in the year of the Hegira 711. In 739 Hegira, or A.D. 1338, Ma-

* At the fortified town of Poor-Bunder, on the Gulf of Cutch, where, at the request of the Rajah, some troops were left, I remained in command. A refractory son of his, very black, with curly hair, and thick lips, had been brought in and reconciled to his father; but he subsequently attempted his life and that of his brother, and I was credibly informed intended me the same favour. It was not till his fort of Chyah was knocked down (where my friend Capt. Dumaresq was killed), that he became quiet. There were three sons, all of whom wanted to step into the "old man's shoes," and would have cut each other's throats had they been allowed.

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homed, third son of the emperor Tuglick, got possession of it in his conquests in the Deccan, gave it the present name, and made it an imperial city. When the Mussulmans were driven out of the Deccan by the princes of Arankel and the Carnatic, the latter got possession of Dowlutabad. In the year 1633, Ahmed Shah Nizam became master of it. When his dynasty ended, it fell to another Abyssinian slave, Mullick Amber, whose son again sold it to one of Shah Jehan's generals, as mentioned in another place. Some years after this, it fell to the Mahrattas, whose victories and successes at this period shook the very throne of Delhi. In the Hegira, 1176, it was ceded by treaty by Ragonaut Rao to the Nizam, in whose possession it has since remained. Morand Khan, a general of the Nizam's, had made prisoner Mahá Ram; and the cession of the fortress was a ransom for his person. At this period the revenue of the Soubah was estimated at fifty lakhs of rupees. Owing to the protection and friendship the Nizam has experienced from the British, which he has well requited by cordial co-operation when required, or a strict neutrality when his auxiliary aid has not been demanded, he still retains his possession. These are the principal events connected with its occupation by contending parties.

The circumference of the outer wall is said to be five thousand yards, and the thickness of the walls at the foundation fifteen feet; the height of

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the wall forty-eight feet. The space within is divided into nine fortifications, separated by strong walls rising gradually above one another towards the centre, by which means each commands that which is next to it beneath.

The revenues of the Soubah of Dowlutabad, including Ahmed-Nuggur, were said to yield into Aurungzebe's coffers the sum of two hundred and fifty-nine lakhs of rupees.

In 1758 the French officer, M. Bussy, became possessed of the fortress. By some imprudent measures of M. Lally, and the recall of Bussy, Dowlutabad fell again to the Nizam. Though French influence was still very powerful at the Nizam's court, and French partisans possessing skill and experience very numerous, and their services in high repute, the surrender of this place was fatal to their power in the Deccan. It is said Lally became jealous of the influence possessed by Bussy. Whatever might have been the cause of Lally's proceeding, it was a most fatal and imprudent step. In a country like India, rich in every thing, and where power or possession gives the *acknowledged* right of collecting the revenue—a partisan like Bussy, of talents and ambition, was a formidable object in the sight of the French party.

To such a height had French ascendancy and intrigue reached, that their power not only threatened our authority, but they would have eventually deprived the native princes whom they served

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of their kingdoms and revenues. They possessed at one time, in the heart of India, an uncontrollable power, not as ostensible conquerors, but as nominal servants of the native rulers, in whose name they pursued their military operations and political machinations. At a fitting season they would have thrown off all restraint, and that period was daily approaching, till at last our drowsy policy was aroused, and vigorous measures were pursued, not merely to check, but to eradicate French influence in India. The spirited conduct of Colonel Kirkpatrick at Hyderabad, in disarming some French officers and their native soldiers (in the service of the Nizam), was a most trying event, and the successful result of the Colonel's measures did him the highest possible credit. In all subsequent treaties with the native princes, it is a specific article, that they shall on no account retain military adventurers in their service, without the consent and approbation of the British minister (resident) residing at that court *.

It is unnecessary to add, that these high functionaries are selected by the Supreme Government for their eminent talents, high character, acknowledged qualifications, great experience, and other

* Lending money or advancing loans to native princes is very wisely forbidden by the British *Legislature*. It must be evident, in the corrupt, feeble, and intriguing state of native courts, that the access of Europeans, with large capitals and political objects to gain, must be most dangerous to the country and to British influence and power.

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requisites to constitute a statesman intrusted with the control of a kingdom. No political situation in the United Kingdom can be compared to that of a British resident at a native court. The duties are multifarious, arduous, and difficult; and what is more, the whole weight falls on the shoulders of one man, to whose genius and abilities the welfare of turbulent millions and distracted countries is committed. Need we be surprised at the success of our measures, when we see the names of such men as Barry Close, Elphinstone, Jenkins, Colonel Kirkpatrick, General Malcolm, Metcalf, Colonel Bailie, Major Carnac, and Captain Close? In such hands as these not only our dominion, but the welfare of the natives, is safe.

To bear me out in the above statements regarding French influence, it will be sufficient to show the resources and power of General Boigne, before he quitted the service of Scindiah. He had constructed a foundry, where he manufactured upwards of one hundred and fifty pieces of brass ordnance, and one hundred and twenty of iron. For the payment of his troops he had a *jeidad* (territory) given to him that yielded annually 1,632,000*l.* sterling, and for his personal use a valuable jaghire to make the most of. He had in his service 18,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry, and above 300 European officers. The well-known English adventurer, George Thomas, was another instance.

Leaving Dowlutabad to the right, its bluff, perpendicular, and rounded face has a singular ap-

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pearance; while its height, and the impossibility of scaling its mural sides, and the outward and distant defences of embattled walls, succeeding at intervals each other, give an appearance of impregnable strength to the place*. What availeth all these advantages when treachery lurks within the walls? So little dependence was placed by the Emperors at Delhi in those in the provinces intrusted with power, that it was usual to remove the governors from their post to a distant one every two or three years, and it often occurred that where a strong fortress was in a particular command or government, the charge of it was intrusted to one independent of the civil authority in every respect; so that, in case of rebellion, the strongholds to the disaffected were not available, or *vice versâ*, the officer in charge of the province or kingdom was a check upon those holding the military commands and forts. The moment the flag of revolt was hoisted, some of the members of the royal family were sure to collect what followers and treasures they could, and fly to the scene of rebellion. All the precautions possible could not save the imperial dynasty from a gradual decline and fall. The moral defects inherent in the system of native governments, and a total want of patriotism, honesty, and zeal in the higher officers, hastened the fall. What must have been the fate of the wretched inhabitants may be easily conjectured; in all cases *they* were the sufferers.

* Mr. Johnson's view is taken from the inner or third wall.

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These cogitations occupied my mind as I passed over the extensive and fertile plains lying between Dowlutabad and Aurungabad. These plains, though possessing rich soils, intersected by many streams, and in the vicinity of an imperial city, might be mistaken for a desert by those accustomed to the rich scenes of England, where prosperity and security alike dwell together. During my ride I did not meet ten people, nor was a tenth part of the land in cultivation.

At a distance the view of Aurungabad has an imposing effect: lofty minarets peeping out from among groves of trees; the large white domes of mosques, with their gilded points, shining in the sun; a number of large terraced houses rising above the walls of the city, the whole covering a great extent of ground; but as we approach a different scene presents itself. After passing a large gateway we at once enter the city, nearly half of which is in a state of decay and ruin, with a scanty population. It has the signs in every street of fallen greatness, and shows that its prosperity perished with its founder Aurungzebe*. The remark in a preceding page, relating to Hindoos, from ostentation or charity, digging a tank, or building a pagoda, which no one will repair after their decease, (for in that there is no honour,) applies equally to the imperial cities founded by the pride of an emperor

* Aurungabad, the city of Aurungzebe. Dowlutabad figuratively implies the fortunate city.

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for posthumous honour, and to transmit to posterity his former greatness, and an idea of the munificence of his reign. Aurungzebe was not a solitary instance of the unwise policy of founding a new city at the expense of an old one. The vanity which dictated such a step was the ruin of his former capital. Although Aurungabad flourished for a time, the cause ceased at his death, and it remains, like many other cities in India, a memento of princely folly and pride. We need not go far for a precedent. Mahomed the Third, who, paradoxical as it may appear, was brave and cruel, nearly ruined the imperial city of Delhi by transplanting the population to Dowlutabad, so named by him, which place, and the surrounding country, had become his by conquest. Another instance may be adduced. The immediate successor of Mahomed the Munificent*, Shah Feroze, built the city of Ferozeabad; and although he did people it, it was not by driving a population nearly eight hundred miles distant, as in the case of his predecessor Mahomed. Still it was attended with ruin to thousands, merely to gratify his personal vanity. In these desultory remarks I have always

* He obtained this name from his liberality and public works. Feroze's canal is a work of great magnitude. He built forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty Durrumsallas, five hospitals, eighty palaces, a hundred tombs, one hundred and fifty wells and gardens, bridges, sluices, and canals without number. The latter days of this prince were sorrowfully ended by a rebellion against his son, to whom he had resigned his power.

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endeavoured to bear out my assertions or opinions by corroborative statements, or matter of fact illustration.

. The wall which surrounds Aurungabad is not at all calculated to sustain a regular attack. It is lower than they usually are, with round towers at intervals, and is sufficient for resisting the onset of a predatory body of either horse or foot; but Aurungzebe in his lifetime had no occasion to fear a regular attack on his capital: of the future he thought and cared nought. The divine precept appears to be very fully and generally acted upon by the princes in India—"Sufficient for the day are the evils thereof," and he had enough upon his hands, what with the repeated rebellions of his brothers, and the encroachments of the Mahrattas in the Deccan, to occupy him in his long and turbulent reign.

The streets of Aurungabad are broad and some few paved. There are many large and good houses in different parts. The public buildings, mosques, and caravanseras are of a superior construction to those which we generally find in native cities. Gardens and groves of trees, court-yards and fountains, diversify the scene, and ornament the streets. The shops present to view many costly articles of Indian produce, but there is an air of dejection about the whole that tells you the glory of the regal city has fled. A few groups of grave and fine-looking Mussulmans, unoccupied by any

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thing but idle talk, are seen lounging at different quarters; or here and there one of the better order, clad in his flowing robe, passes you with a stately and measured step, conscious of his manly figure and handsome features. These and a few solitary Fakeers are the principal persons met with, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the markets, where some little bustle prevails; otherwise there is nothing to remind us of an Indian city,—no pomp, no crowded streets, no horsemen, or cavalcades; none of the bustling motions or noisy sounds that proclaim industry, occupation, and prosperity. Partly deserted and partly in ruins, Aurungabad presents a cheerless view to a stranger.

After wandering about some time, a Mussulman very politely explained to me the way to a Durrumsalla (caravansera) erected for the accommodation of travellers, that is to say, a place where you are protected from the sun and rain, and may spread your mat and go to sleep. I had had a fatiguing and hot ride, and did not expect my baggage for some time, so that I had nothing to do but to sit upon the edge of the elevated floor of my lodging, my legs dangling down outside the wall of the terrace (as if they were tired of belonging to me) and to look about and cogitate on the fallen grandeur of Aurungabad, or, as the natives term it, "to look and think together:" this promised to be my occupation for three hours to come. Do not imagine, reader, that because

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you have money in your pocket, and are teased with a craving appetite, that you may lay out the one and satisfy the other, by proceeding to a house and enjoying an exquisite banquet, consisting of a fine rump steak, a cup of ale, and a roasted potatoe:—nothing of the kind in Indian travelling; you must carry every thing with you, to the salt that savours your meat, and must yourself look after the packing, despatch, and arrangement of your marching and household affairs, or your servants will forget or neglect one half of what they ought to do. Fruit may be procured in large towns; but in the heat of the day after a long ride it is not advisable to eat any. The parched grain and sweetmeats sold in the streets are both cloying and unpalatable, so that your only resource is patience; and if you wish to practise that virtue in perfection, make a journey of two or three hundred miles in India, and you will find yourself quite an adept in the observance of it in all its bearings.

We had no troops at Aurungabad; but there were a few irregular Siphauees belonging to his highness the Nizam, a kind of militia or police, for such they *then* were. One of these men shortly passed by me, whilst I was ruminating, and playing the devil's tattoo with my heels against the walls of the terraced floor on which I was sitting. With the best military salute that this tyro was capable of, he made a full stop, and said he was

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"surprised I did not go to his *Sahib*, who, though not an officer of the Coompanee Ki Bahauder*, was yet a Sahib (or gentleman) and would be glad to see me." This intimation I however declined, believing if the officer was hospitably inclined he would find me out, and it was not for me to seek him. The natives of India, whether in the British service or not, bear a great respect to our character, and are always happy in rendering any little attention or kindness. Thus it was in the present instance. The Siphauee went off to his officer to communicate his intelligence and his regret (as I afterwards found) at a British officer sitting in a solitary caravansera. In a short time I received a polite note from a Mr. Johnson, requesting me to come to his quarters, and stating that he had heard, an officer had been residing some days at Elora; and had he been aware that I intended returning by Aurungabad, he would have had a servant to meet me on the road to conduct me straight to his house. This polite and welcome billet roused me from my reveries, and I forgot Aurungzebe, nay, for the moment, almost the temples of Elora.

Hunger and fatigue will do much to obliterate impressions on the mind, and interrupt the most pleasing train of ideas. My new friend received me as though an acquaintance of many years'

* The Lordly Company—or the East India Company—sometimes it implies "Victorious."

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standing; he was lodged in an old fashioned, substantially built house, sufficiently roomy to accommodate half a dozen guests. A plentiful repast was soon set before me; but here a difficulty occurred. I had intended to adhere to my vegetable diet. It would, I thought, look singular before a stranger, and have caused some trouble to his servants, who most probably were not initiated into the mysteries of preparing a diet so out of the common way: last of all, the viands set before me were very tempting, and the necessities of my stomach were very great; so that without more ado I was in a manner compelled to forego my favourite dinner, and become again a feeder on flesh and a bibber of wine,—both much against my own inclinations; but the old adage, "when in Rome," and reflections, such as "do not be singular," "do as others do," "you must go with the stream," &c. induced me to accept of the proffered meal. I could not help thinking, while partaking of cold roast fowls and salt BEEF, that custom is an inflexible tyrant that makes fools of us all, and that we have not a salvo to offer for being slaves to our appetites, but the paltry and wretched pretext of "others do the same." There was however a little necessity on my side, to which I with much hesitation yielded*. It was near four

* I am persuaded (says Mr. Newton, speaking of the virtues of a vegetable diet, and its effects in his own family,) that there

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P.M., and since seven the preceding evening I had tasted nothing. The distance from Elora was not great; but I had loitered away a good deal of time at Roza and Dowlutabad, and did not finally quit Elora till near eight o'clock in the morning.

Some of the remarks I have given on Dowlutabad, as well as the drawing, my kind host furnished, and he was so good afterwards as to use his influence with the principal native authority to procure an order for my admission into the fortress on the following day; but this was politely refused, on the ground that a positive prohibition was issued by the Nizam, at the request of the British authority at his court. There was one mode of gaining an entrance: that was, to accompany my host as an orderly, dressed in their regimentals, and otherwise disguised. This might have been practicable, but then I might possibly have committed my host

is scarcely another instance in this never-ending metropolis, of three grown persons and four young children under nine years of age, incurring an expense of sixpence only, for medicine and medical attendance in the course of two years. (This was written in 1811.) This result is exactly what would be expected from the remarkably healthy appearance of the young people alluded to, which is so striking that several medical men who have seen and examined them with a scrutinising eye, all agreed in the observation that they knew nowhere a whole family which equals them in robustness.—*Defence of Vegetable Regimen, by John Frank Newton, Esq.*

Note, The family *still* persevere in a vegetable diet and distilled water, and with the same success.

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in such an endeavour; and, as he justly observed, if my measuring line or note book was used, we should be so narrowly watched that detection was certain; therefore of course I considered the consequences would be disastrous to him. In those days we had no political agent residing at Aurungabad; and Hyderabad was too far distant to make any application, though doubtless if I had, that estimable man, (now no more) Captain George Sydenham, would have acquiesced; for his frankness, urbanity, and distinguished talents caused him to be admired and beloved by all ranks of people. With my new friend I whiled away my time very pleasantly.

The principal native officer the *Devan* (minister) having had my arrival officially reported to him, sent a polite message, some fine fruit, and a new *Calaoon* (a small kind of table hookah) with some fresh made *Chilkums** for smoking, with an intimation to my host, that his set of *Nautchanees* (dancing girls) were disengaged, and that his people would order them to attend if required. My friend had just before been lauding the beauty and accomplishments of some dancing girls at Aurungabad; but, that he might procure a good set, and make due preparation, and invite some of his native

* A preparation of very mild tobacco, spices, sugar, rose leaves, &c. &c. made up in balls; so very mild, from the smoke passing through a globe nearly filled with water, or rose water, that a lady may with pleasure smoke a hookah.

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friends to the nautch, had deferred it till the following evening; but this kind message from the man in power was not to be slighted, not merely from his household set being superior, but from his condescension in tendering their services.

Lighting a few oil lamps and despatching a few Siphauees with messages to Mr. Johnson's native friends, explaining the circumstance of so short an invitation, was the work of a moment. No people in the world stand more on etiquette and are more punctilious in a due observance of all forms of politeness and respect, even to the lowest of the people, who bow and salute their acquaintance with much form and ceremony, not forgetting the interchange of regard in their exclamation of "Peace be to you," and the response of "Peace be with you." In the upper ranks it is almost carried to an excess of politeness and deference; but, to the dance. I need not say, perhaps, that these dancing girls are generally very young, very beautiful, very fond, and possessing the finest and most delicate forms that can be imagined. Willing to please, and desirous to be admired, they neglect nothing that can set off their persons or excite admiration in the beholders. True disciples of the Paphian queen, they have none of the vices or defects that disgrace the sisterhood in Europe. Their manners are good, their tempers mild, and their dispositions of the most affectionate kind. Drunkenness, quarrelling, and swearing are

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unknown to them: in their habits they are temperate, docile, and cheerful. No vulgarity, ingratitude, or deception in their character; they follow their vocation without those disgusting traits that are met with in Europe. They are proverbially faithful and cleanly; modest, although professed courtezans, to which they are brought up from their youth. Never experiencing want, and being never ill-treated (as their numbers and community protect them) and living in a fine climate, if the horrors of prostitution (an unavoidable evil in all countries) can any where be palliated, it is in India; for there it is unattended with those outrages, cruelties, and insults, which characterize the treatment and life of that unfortunate class in England.

The brutal and unfeeling usage that these poor creatures experience in England in their nightly and desolate walks in cold and wet, searching for a miserable meal, through the opulent metropolis, beset by the rapacity of police officers, and the hypocritical morality of the opposite sex: these helpless creatures, these midnight wanderers, more "sinned against than sinning," would present to those who would take the trouble, from motives of humanity, to perambulate the streets at night, a more appalling picture of wretchedness and distress than those unacquainted with the subject could believe to be possible. In how many instances are these young women seduced from their friends and

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the paths of honour under specious and false pretences, and through the want of firmness and knowledge of that tyrant *man!* The false step is taken, and every door is then shut against them. Relations disown them, (poor morality, what a convenient name thou art!) their friends shun them, and every *Christian* thinks it his *duty* to avoid the walking pestilence, and to revile and condemn to his heart's content the conduct of those who, once having departed from the path of virtue, persevere in their forlorn course from the sheer necessity of procuring bread. Who will give them service, or extend the hand towards them? Look at home! look at home, Christians and Philanthropists! and before you go to India to reform and improve, cast your eyes around on the suffering thousands at home in want of shelter, in want of a meal, in want of covering for their bodies.

My poor and ill used countrywomen, whom fate and the villany of man have reduced to the very worst state of poverty and affliction, have taken me from the Nautchanees at Aurungabad. We will, with the most sincere apology for the digression, resume the subject.

In the instrumental department of these entertainments there is but little to please and nothing to admire. The vocalists and dancers have the accompaniments of small noisy harsh drums, beaten with the fingers and a small hard stick: the drum is suspended from the neck, and rests in the vest

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of the player. They have a kind of guitar, played either with a bow or the fingers. To produce "soft sounds" in accordance with the step or whirl of the dancing girl, the musicians distort their countenances by the most hideous grimaces. The whole face and neck appear convulsed, the mouth wide open, and the player roaring out with might and main a symphony to his own music. Their violent motions evince exertion and the utmost enthusiasm in gesture, torturing, as it were, some dulcet sounds (as they think) from their rude and inharmonious instruments. These performers are nervously alive to their calling, and so desirous of improving the dancing and singing, that they get into a profuse sweat, and appear as if bewitched with the wish to please and the ravishing effects of their own noise, than which nothing can be more discordant or frightful, equally devoid of sweetness in the instrument and of taste in the performers. When you can prevail on the girls to sing without the execrable accompaniment of *tam-tams*, the guitar, and cymbals, it is a great treat. Their voices are often very mellifluous, their persons graceful, their countenances soft and expressive, their motions and attitudes classically elegant; but when these obstreperous sons of Orpheus step in, farewell to all harmony *.

* Abbé Raynal pertly observes, "these dances are in general love pantomimes; the plan, the design, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence, are all expressive of the passion, with all

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The girls sing strains on the old subject,—love and war; and in relating the delights of the former, do not fail to "suit the action to the word:" but they seldom overstep the "modesty of nature," except urged on by imprudent and volatile young men. This is very reprehensible in the young and gay; but it is well known we cannot expect "old heads on young shoulders." Spenser sings,

> "How great a toil to stem the raging flood,
> When beauty stirs the mass of youthful blood!"

Round the ankles of the girls are placed rows of very small silver bells; these they move in cadence quickly, or not, according to the step or figure they are engaged in. There are generally three or four performers at a time, who alternately take a part in the dancing or singing, as one or other recedes or gets exhausted. The quick movements of the loins and hips, the whirling motions they take (in which our figure-dancers are mere novices), and both hands playing castanets, and flourishing them over the head, must be fatiguing. They often sing at the time of dancing, and the exhilarating air "*Tazu-bu-Tazu*" generally commences the melody.

its raptures and extravagancies," vol. 2. Mrs. Graham says, "the dancing girls are generally of agreeable persons and countenances, and the motions extremely graceful." I ought to observe that they wear silk trowsers, but neither shoes nor stockings. In their measured step, or in the quick circumvolution, the small foot and ankle of a native girl show to great advantage.

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Buffoons and mimics occasionally lend their drolleries as an interlude. Such dancing and singing girls as Nickee, Begum-Jahn, Hingan, and others at Calcutta, will not go out under two or three hundred rupees each for a night: up the country, at the native court, as high as five hundred rupees, or 60*l.* they will require for a very superior performer. Their fine tresses of hair are perfumed and adorned with fragrant flowers; their dress and ornaments are very showy, and often very expensive; and they wear full-bottomed petticoats, which fly out and expand as they take their whirling evolutions.

Our party did not break up till late, although after the first hour or two of the entertainment there was not much variety in the amusement. In the intervals of dancing and singing, lounging on couches, smoking and conversing with intelligent natives, who were sitting around upon carpets spread for the purpose, was an agreeable pastime enough.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Native Cities—Mausoleum of Rabea Dooranee—Descendants of Aurungzebe—Seyds—Nizam—Nadir Shah—Ahmed Abdalla—Cemetery of Rabea—Minarets—Portuguese—Indian Christians—Jummal Caum—Groves—Hunting Parties—Shah Sâñt—Mahomedan Funeral—Hindoo Obsequies—Women.

The following day was devoted to viewing the city, which consisted in seeing one or two objects of curiosity, that either the munificence or vanity of some former prince has raised, in the shape of a tomb, a mosque, or pagoda. A native city possesses few charms or attractions to Europeans accustomed to the variety, arrangement, and beauties of a British city, where at every turning there is some object deserving of notice, to excite admiration or to interest his feelings. On the contrary, there is so much confusion, dirt, and wretchedness in those cities under the native governments, that a stranger is rather willing to quit it than, by exploring, only meet with objects that excite in his mind feelings of sorrow and disappointment.

The Hindoo, devoted to gain and superstition, cares but little as long as he increases his hoard and propitiates his gods; while the Mussulman leads a listless and sensual life, lolling on carpets,

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eternally smoking, and for the most part of the day locked up in his haram with his women: his days pass on in one unvaried round; there is no society, no public institutions, places of public resort or amusement: he, like the Hindoo, goes through with zeal and earnestness the formularies of his religion, and, like the Hindoo, he knows no one and cares for no one beyond the walls of his own barricadoed mansion. With such an example, and in such a state of society, it may be supposed in what an abject state the lower orders remain; they are but mere slaves to the higher ranks. In this state of degradation it is not to be wondered at that their cities present a uniform appearance of meanness, poverty, and ruin. There are but two objects at Aurungabad that deserve a specific notice—the gardens and the tomb or mausoleum of *Rabea Dooraney**, reported to have been the favourite wife of the Emperor Aurungzebe, and of which building the annexed plate is a correct representation.

It was built nearly after the model of the celebrated *Tāj-Mhāl* at Agra; which structure, although a part of the stone was a present from a Rajpoot prince, cost the amazing sum of 700,000*l.* sterling. The Taj is built of the most costly materials: the whole is of white marble, with the richest mosaic work formed of precious stones, and as far as possible, I believe, all of a different

* She was most probably of the Doorany nation.

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colour and shape, consisting of agate, cornelian, pure coral, moss-stone, blood-stone, &c. It was built by the father of Aurungzebe, *Shah Jehān*, and is a most magnificent structure.

The mausoleum which we are now about to visit, after passing a large gateway with handsome gates covered with plates of embossed brass, is approached by a paved avenue, having a piece of water and thirteen fountains in the centre, the whole agreeably shaded by a profusion of trees, consisting of orange, lime, pomegranates, peach, and a few apple trees. At the end of the avenue, within a spacious area, built on a terrace, stands the fabric, which is ascended by a few steps. It is a square of seventy-two feet (not an octagon). From the foundation on the terrace, for five feet, the material is white marble: the windows at this part of the building are thirteen feet by six feet four inches; they are three in number, of exquisite trellis-work, so fine and minute indeed, that it must have required infinite skill not to have damaged the material or ruined it, which the least flaw of the chisel, or inattention in the workman, must inevitably have occasioned. Above the height mentioned the superstructure is of stone stuccoed; but the large dome surmounting the whole is of marble. The tomb is placed in the centre of the building, the top of it reaching nearly on a level with the terrace: you descend to it by twenty-four steps, the same as going into a bath. The tomb

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is enclosed by a light and elegant marble screen of trellis-work of an octagon figure. Nothing can be more delicate than the chiseling of the screen: in fact, the niceness and precision necessary to prevent a fracture in thus perforating a solid slab of marble must have been very great. It may not be unaptly likened to the meshes of a fishing-net, only that the lines are thicker. The apertures cut in the windows are circular; these are angular. The whole of the screen occupies, measuring from the little marble door at the head of the tomb to the one at the opposite end, seventy-two feet; so that each angle of the octagon may be estimated at eighteen feet: the height of the screen is nine feet, and the frame is only four inches in thickness. The floor within the screen is raised two inches above the outer aisle, and the tomb itself stands on a terrace ten inches higher than the floor. The whole side of this spacious vault is lined with white marble; and, from being quite open at top, it may not be inaptly compared to a bath.

A little above the level of the top of the tomb, and a few feet distant, is an open gallery of an octagonal form, that proceeds all round the building, and upon a level with the three windows already mentioned. The foundations of this gallery form the sides of the apartment which contains the sepulchre. This extensive gallery is of marble; and whether the visitor is peering through the trellis-work of the windows, or viewing the spacious dome

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above, or contemplating the splendid tomb of departed greatness below, the objects are equally impressive and beautiful. What must be the pensive recollections of an Englishman,

"As in those domes where Cæsars once bore sway?"

In inquiring about the fate of Aurungzebe's successors, and of the murders and revolutions that followed, let us first reflect that the lineal descendants of *Allumguire** (conqueror of the world) had been in want of bread, and that his descendant, the unfortunate *Shah Allum* (king of the world) had his eyes inhumanly put out by a ferocious dependent courtier; but before this was done, in order that he might have the means of seeing an act at which human nature revolts, his sons were lifted up a considerable height, and then dashed against the pavement. Having been compelled to view this horrid sight, they put out his eyes. The Mahratta chiefs, Holkar and Scindiah, had got possession of the country, plundering and ruining every thing they could put their hands on, under the name of allies; Shah Allum being alternately the victim or pageant of each party.

The memorable battle of *Plassey*, gained by Lord Clive, in 1757, gave a turn to affairs, and both Mahratta invaders and Mahomedan usurpers began to feel the effects of British policy and bravery. The fatal battle of *Panniput*, in 1761,

* Aurungzebe.

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between the Mahrattas and Mahomedans, decided the fate of the former in Bengal; that of Plassey assuredly gave the British a preponderating influence and ascendancy that has ever since been successfully followed up by a vigorous, humane, and wise course of political measures, which are a blessing to suffering millions, and an honour to the British name.

We will just give a summary of the atrocities in the succeeding years after Aurungzebe's death. He paved his way to the throne by the most unnatural murders and fratricides. *Bahadur Shah* (Lordly King), the second son of Aurungzebe*, in a short reign of four years, distinguished by bloodshed and cruelty, was succeeded by *Jehander Shah*, who murdered in cold blood his three brothers. He was deposed by his relative *Feroke-Shah*, and, as a matter of course, was put out of the way by being killed in his turn. He sacked Delhi, and murdered all the principal nobles and the various princes of the blood, and they, owing to polygamy and concubinage, were pretty numerous. He had their eyes put out with hot irons, and confined them in strong fortresses for life. He, after six years of blood, was, in 1719, deposed and murdered by the Seyds (descendants of Mahomet) a strong and fanatical party. Two short interregnums occurred, in which, for seven months, the Seyds were the rulers, although they had a

* The eldest son, Shah Allum, died by poison.

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pageant for their purpose. The grandson of Bahauder was brought from confinement and placed on the throne. Shortly after his accession, a massacre took place of the Seyds.

In a few years the imperial power was tottering to the ground; the Nizam * had nearly shaken off all allegiance; the Mahrattas were daily pushing their conquests and power; Nadir Shah, the Persian, had long cast a wistful eye on the disorganized imperial countries; and the treasures of Delhi having excited his cupidity, and being an unprincipled and daring soldier, he did not long want an excuse. Flushed with victory, and well knowing the weakness of his opponents, a pretended quarrel on the part of the Persian ambassador was the cause assigned. The invasion of Delhi, of the country, and plunder of the capital are well known. The money carried off was esti-

* The *Nizam* withdrew his final allegiance, principally through the assistance of the French. His capital is Hyderabad, City of the Lion, formerly *Bag Nagur*, or Gardens of Nagur. These extensive and fertile countries, under the influence of the present resident, Mr. Metcalfe, are greatly improving, and will continue to improve, so long as Mr. Metcalfe's advice and projects continue to be acted on. Of Mr. Metcalfe, personally, I know nothing, but that this able and highly distinguished individual has already rendered many important benefits to the Hyderabad state.—Dec. 1824.

Subsequent events have fully justified my opinion of Sir C. Metcalfe; his eminent services cannot be too highly appreciated. —March, 1825.

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mated at twenty crore of rupees, or 25,000,000*l.* sterling; or, including jewels, ingots of gold, &c. 87,550,000*l.* sterling*. The loss of this enormous treasure was not the end of the calamitous invasion of Nadir Shah: the vanquished caused a re-action in the streets of Delhi, and proclaimed that the "Persian invader was dead," and now was the time to "extirpate the Persians." Many of the latter were slain, and much blood was spilt during the night. It is said that the unfortunate Mahomed knew nothing of the tumult, or at least had not instigated it. At peep of day *Nadir* took a frightful revenge, and for six hours ordered and personally attended an indiscriminate slaughter and massacre, neither respecting sex nor age. At noon, at the solicitation of the Emperor, the work of destruction was ordered to cease, but its effects were still in progress. The high caste Hindoos and many of the Mahomedans, to save their women and daughters from violation by the Persian soldiery, set fire to their houses, consuming all within. A great part of the city was reduced to

* In Major Scott's translation from the Persian account, Nadir Shah carried away with him 3,500,000*l.* in gold, 1,500,000*l.* in plate, and 15,000,000*l.* in jewels; the canopy and throne of the royal state elephants, estimated at 11,000,000*l.*; the peacock throne at 1,000,000*l.*; all the valuable equipage both for camp and court, 500 elephants: 4,000,000*l.* was levied on the rich and noble, and about the same in plunder by the soldiers. This was in 1739.

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ashes, and murders and outrages were hourly occurring. These horrors were followed by a pestilence and famine.

Shortly after this, Nadir Shah retreated, having obtained from the Moghul court all the country west of the Indus; and he confirmed the ruined Mahomed in those countries east of it. His departure, although it relieved the capital and Mahomed of his presence and that of his army, had left such depopulation and ruin, that these once rich countries (in Aurungzebe's reign) were now deserts and wilds; and Delhi, the capital, one vast charnel-house—the place of desolation and mourning. To fill up the cup of affliction to the wretched Mahomed, the Mahrattas were daily harassing him, and ravaging his districts; the Nizam had withdrawn even a semblance of allegiance; and Ahmed Abdalla, raised to power and command by his master, Nadir Shah, had become independent, and thought proper, after the death of his royal master, to follow in his former steps, and invade India on his own account. This he did in 1747.

Thus was the emperor on all sides in a state of fear and distraction. In a few months he departed this life*, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed, who, from the abovementioned enemies, and frequent revolts among his own people, was an object of pity to all. His career was finished by having his eyes put out, and confined for life: this hap-

* In 1747.

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pened six years after the death of his father, in 1753. He was succeeded by his cousin, Allumguire the second, who, during a disastrous and turbulent reign of eight years, the puppet of his nobles, and of Ahmed Abdalla, was in 1761 murdered by his own minister. Of subsequent events I have already spoken.

Of the following descendants of Aurungzebe, suffice it to say, that they owed their lives and their daily bread to the bounty and clemency of the British, who now began to be both feared and respected. The blood-royal of the once powerful and magnificent Aurungzebe are now indebted for life and sustenance to the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

While sitting on the marble floor of the gallery overlooking the tomb containing the ashes of one of the ancestors of these cruel and unfortunate despots, we cannot resist giving utterance to the brief melancholy tale, and endeavouring to convey some knowledge of the successors of the prince who built the Mausoleum. It would have been negligent, indeed, to pass by those events in total silence. In the narration I have been as concise as possible.

The tomb of Rabea Doorany is correspondent with the superb edifice in which it is placed. Over the tomb was thrown a covering of scarlet velvet, with a deep rich gold fringe: this was held down

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by eight large marble knobs. The attendants, at my request, removed the pall; but there is nothing more to be observed in the cemetery of royalty than in the tomb of the peasant. Poor, frail mortality, whether deposited in marble or in mother earth, is much the same: it only reminds us of an end to which we are all fast hastening. If our deeds have been good, the grave is divested of its terrors: if, on the contrary, a vicious, sensual, and irreligious life has been our course, the prospect of the tomb offers indescribable horrors, when it is too late to amend in our ingratitude to our Maker, in our cruelty and deceit to our fellow-creatures, and in our baseness to our relatives and friends. What must be the emotions and dread of some men, as they approach that awful moment described by Mr. Pope, in his beautiful ode to the Soul—

> "What is this absorbs me quite—
> Steals my senses, shuts my sight?"

Even when that time comes as a relief to the good, to the suffering spirit of the evil-doer it affords no consolation. There is that dreadful *hereafter*, at the prospect of which the stoutest heart shudders; and when no sophisms, no casuistry, no learning, or talents will avail:—"By your deeds will ye be judged." Poor Rabea Doorany, however, had little to charge herself with. She had the character of being humane, charitable, affectionate, and ex-

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emplarily pious. Several Pirs, Seyds, and Hadjis*, who were in daily attendance to perform requiems at the tomb of the departed queen, gave me some traditions of her; but not being able to vouch for their accuracy, I forbear inserting them. This much, however, is certain, that her good qualities and humanity induced the emperor to erect this Mausoleum (at an expense of 90,000*l.*) to the memory of his consort.

Aurungzebe was a good judge of human nature: and, though extremely parsimonious, and in the early part of his reign he perpetrated many atrocities to secure his power, he possessed many rare qualities of both head and heart; and as far as an eastern monarch can be merciful and generous, he was. His long reign of *52* years speak much for his personal actions and abilities†. In a country where a prince must maintain himself by his armies and his own exertions, not by the attachment of his people, a long and warlike reign must speak in favour of the person wielding the destinies of a mighty empire‡.

These wanderings from the object before us I am constantly reprobating, and as constantly committing. Perhaps the overpowering scents arising

* *Pirs*, holy men, or saints. *Seyds*, descendants of the Prophet. *Hadjis*, those who have gone the required pilgrimages.

† Notwithstanding his wars, and the disturbed state of his territories, the revenues amounted to 32 millions sterling.

‡ Vide Appendix, for two letters written in Persian, by Aurungzebe to his sons—Azim Shah, and Kam Buksht.

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from fragrant woods, oils, and spices, burning in silver dishes round the tomb, may have confounded the little intellect I possess; and that, rather than not say something, I have fallen into a rhapsody of lamentation, instead of pursuing my straight-forward course in describing, with minute accuracy, the interior of the Mausoleum.

I will now proceed to the outside of the building, and trust to the fragrancy of the adjoining gardens and the refreshing air to restore me to my usual cheerfulness and placid state of mind. The paved quadrangular area, or Durgah, which surrounds the terrace on which the Mausoleum is built, is of considerable extent. At each angle is a tower, or minaret, estimated at 72 feet in height, and ascended by a spiral staircase of 122 stone steps; and at the top of the minaret is a balcony, 31 feet in circumference. At the foundation, the girth of the minaret is 48 feet. It is built partly of stone and brick. The ascent to the top is by no means difficult; and from thence the prospect is remarkably fine, embracing a view of great extent and variety, and including the mountains passed over in yesterday's journey. At the foot lies the city, with its mosques, minarets, spacious edifices with terraced roofs, court-yards, numerous gardens, streams of water, cypress-trees, fountains, &c. &c. Immediately adjoining is the tomb, with its fine grounds and mosques.

A rather laughable incident occurred in the op-

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posite minaret. I had sent my *factotum* (on all my explorations in the caves and buildings), my faithful and intelligent servant Joe, to see if any thing was to be observed worthy of particular notice from the top of the southern minaret. I had descended from the one I had been visiting, and awaited at the foot of the other, for Joe* to report

* The half-caste Portuguese Christians, in receiving the Catholic religion, received with it most of the vices, follies, and customs of the original Portuguese settlers. The preposterous imitation of their masters in their dress is one among many of the follies they have borrowed, and with it much pride and insolence, and the vices of drunkenness, idleness, and deceit: so that the original Hindoo, when metamorphosed into a Portuguese Christian, is both debased and wretched. What our Protestant native brethren may be, time only will develope.—But, for a description of my servant Joe's dress, who was an *exquisite* in his way. He had more neckcloths *on* than I possessed; *tight pantaloons*, reaching to his breast; an embroidered waistcoat, having only three buttons; a jacket to correspond; short-quartered and sharp-pointed shoes, and worked stockings; while a false frill, projecting out six inches deep, made up his dress. As the Portuguese have the honour of being Christians, they do you the honour of eating your meat, and drinking your liquors. It is highly grotesque to see a black Christian parading along, without shoes or stockings, wearing breeches always unbuttoned at the knee, a ragged frilled shirt, his neck bare, and the whole of this *reformed* animal crowned with a huge cocked hat. Remonstrate with him for being abusive, drunk, or cruel (which they often are), and he will turn round with a confident grin, and exclaim, *Um-Christaun-hi*—I am a Christian. Poor wretches! so they are; but what a miserable picture of Christianity do they present! Having lived among them in three different parts of India, I speak from personal observation.

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progress from the balcony to me below. Poor Joe little thought of the danger to which he was fast ascending in *his* research after "the picturesque." We suddenly heard him roar out most furiously; and, on looking up, the cause of his outcry was soon perceived in a swarm of bees fluttering about outside the balcony. These industrious insects being disturbed in their retreat, from that very natural instinct, self-defence, had attacked Joe most unmercifully: hence the noise he made, and consequent retreat at an accelerated pace down the steps of the minaret. Two or three Mahomedans, who were with me, scampered off; but a sedate Moollah (D. D.) wished to shut the door of the minaret, to prevent the escape of the bees, who would, he said, immediately attack us. This cowardly and cruel suggestion I prevented from being put in force. I retreated a few paces, and told Joe to run and immerse himself in the water, where the fountains are represented in the plate. This had the desired effect—the insects abandoning their object. The accident spoiled Joe's beauty for several days afterwards; and as he was that day dressed particularly fine, he felt his misfortune the heavier. To have attended to the Moollah's unfeeling, but *prudent* advice, would have been very base. I could never, after leading a friend or dependant into error or mischief, abandon him, or say, "You may now shift for yourself;" neither would I, on any pretence, cause a servant to do a

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thing, or perform a service, that I was afraid of undertaking myself.

On the left-hand side of the Mausoleum, situate between the gardens and the building, is a handsome room, open on one side, 62 feet by 54, and 22 feet in height. The room is floored with white marble in part, and intersected with streaks of black marble. A part of it is chunamed, or plastered, but so well hardened and smoothed, that it has the polish of marble, and nearly its hardness. This part of the floor is of a chocolate colour. The open entrance has the Gothic arch, and is very prettily carved. This part of the building is supported by fluted wooden pillars, graduated to the commencement of the capital: the flutings of the pillars are painted green and white alternately. The whole stands upon a raised terrace, as, in fact, do most Mussulman and Hindoo buildings. The name of the room is said to be the Jummal Caun, a retiring place for the priests to assemble before proceeding to their daily orisons at the tomb of Rabea.

Not far from the last-mentioned buildings, and situate close to a grove of lime trees, from which issued very fragrant zephyrs, with which I did not fail to regale my olfactory nerves, stands another building. This, though upon a smaller scale than the Jummal, was of equal workmanship, and has been in former days richly embellished with gild-

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ing, painting, and carving: but what made it particularly interesting to me was, that in moments of relaxation from the cares of state and toils of war, it was the favourite retreat of the great Aurungzebe: where, with Rabea and a learned Moollah, he would retire for hours together. It was from this building, as I was informed by the head Moollah of the college (whose information was corroborated by that of two or three others), that Aurungzebe took his departure when going on his grand hunting expeditions: of which parties people in this country can have no just conception, as 20 or 30 miles of country were enclosed, into which wild beasts, game, and birds were driven, as to a grand centre, where the work of death and destruction continued for days together. But let Somerville, in his poem of "The Chase," speak for me, as I am sure the reader will be no loser by substituting his nervous verse for my hobbling prose:

"And now perchance (had Heaven but pleased) the work
Of death had been complete, and Aurungzebe,
By one dread frown, extinguish'd half their race—
When lo! the bright sultanas of his court
Appear, and to his ravish'd eyes display
Those charms, but rarely to the day reveal'd.
Lowly they bend, and humbly sue to save
The vanquish'd host. What mortal can deny
When suppliant beauty begs? At his command,
Opening to right and left, the well-train'd troops
Leave a large void for their retreating foes:

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Away they fly, on wings of fear upborne,
To seek on distant hills their late abodes."

As we are on the subject of hunting, or sporting, in its most general acceptation, I may, perhaps, be allowed to make one digression to personal narrative, although it may not be connected, either in time or place, with the subject of this book. Still, however, it may not be uninteresting, as it relates to one of the modes of destroying game practised in India.

Mr. ———, the chief revenue officer of the island of Salsette (near which, on an adjoining island called Versovah, or Isle de Mer, the corps to which I have the honour of belonging was stationed), had an excellent house, and was, as nineteen out of twenty of the Company's civil servants are, of a hospitable and generous nature, beloved by the natives, and respected by the service. The natives had made repeated complaints to him of the injuries they sustained from wild hogs, tigers, wolves, &c. that at night infested the villages; and although pits and cages had entrapped many tigers, yet they swam over from the continent at low water, and did great mischief. We (as had before been the case) were invited over for a day or two *camp fashion;* that is to say, there was abundance of the very best to eat and drink, with true Indian hospitality and good fellowship; but we were to bring over our servants, chairs, knives and forks, and spoons.

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We proceeded to the work of slaughter at day-break. The event had been proclaimed in the neighbouring villages, and the inhabitants rejoiced not more at the idea of the sport expected, than at being revenged on the tigers, &c. After due precaution of loading rifles, fowling-pieces, and muskets, with a spare one carried by a servant loaded with ball or slugs, and sharpening our hog-spears, we proceeded on through a very thick forest to an extensive valley, terminated by some hills of a gradual ascent. At the top of these we took our station, a few yards distant from each other, our positions assuming a somewhat circular inclination towards the extreme points, so as to embrace as much space as our numbers with safety would allow. Below, at a considerable distance from us, was heard a low murmuring sound, occasionally disturbed by the firing of a matchlock; the sound as it approached increased in loudness; the noise and uproar in the jungle told us the villagers were approaching, and the beaters were perceived like a semicircle moving on, and driving all sorts of living animals before them. As they approximated to our position through the forest, nothing can describe the horrific yells, shouts, and vociferations of the multitude in the valley, the burning of the underwood, the reverberation of the sounds from the hills, the flying and screaming of the birds, and the noise of the animals as they retreated from the advances of the villagers and beaters.

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It is impossible to convey any idea of the scene. In a short time all was in motion; and, flying up the side of the hill, came tigers, hogs, wolves, deer (in great numbers), foxes, hares, jackalls, with a great variety of the feathered creation, who, stricken with fear, neither flew high nor swift. The popping had commenced right and left, and at the foot of the hill a continued discharge was kept up. What they killed was conveyed off in triumph to their villages *. I am fain to confess my skill produced nothing. Too occupied with the animals fleeting and rushing by, and the halloos and motions of my companions, my attention was arrested; and I certainly did enjoy the sportsmanlike cries and manœuvres of my friends. In the din and confusion prevailing, inexperienced shot as I then was, it was impossible to take an active part. In the midst of my quandary, Jack Falstaff's axiom occurred to me —"the better part of valour is discretion;" and, as just observed, not being a professed shot, I thought it as likely that I might, in the confusion and smoke, shoot a villager as a peacock or deer; and as the villagers were fast following the animals up the hill, it was certainly not an improbable con-

* The present king of Oude sometimes, with his followers, goes out on a hunting excursion for ten days together, accompanied by many of his courtiers, and a few British officers. In addition to the animals above-mentioned, in Oude are found lions, wild elephants, buffaloes, and rhinoceroses. There is much parade on these sporting occasions, and great slaughter ensues.

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jecture. I stood, however, on the defensive, kneeling on one knee, with a spear presented, and rifle ready to repel aggression. My next neighbour, our excellent and beloved adjutant, poor John*, had just roared to me, "Sharp work for the eyes, Jack!" when in firing (as I believe), down he fell prostrate, knocked down, whether by an antelope† running against him, or by a large peacock, blinded by the smoke flying in his face, is uncertain: he however, was not hurt, and we had a hearty laugh at the mishap. Of the feathered tribe killed there was great variety—some wild fowl, partridges, &c. several hares, foxes, jackalls, two tigers, four wild hogs, several deer, two or three wolves, &c. The villagers left a good deal in the jungle, and some was carried away by their companions as soon as killed. We were too tired, and it was getting too hot, to make any inquiries in the villages of what had been destroyed, left behind, or carried away by strangers who accompanied the party.

These few lines are in illustration of sporting in India. Much more might have been said, and on

* Captain Lewis, the most amiable of men, an accomplished scholar, and a good soldier—now, alas! no more.

† It is a strange character in this animal, that when a herd is disturbed, they bound away singly in one continued straight line; nor will they diverge from any object intervening. Led on by an old buck, they spring over every obstacle. I have seen them bound over a cart as if it were a mole-hill, taking astonishing leaps in their progress.

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other occasions, where the sport has been differently conducted; such as coursing, or destroying animals and game by traps. This must, however, suffice, and we must pursue our inquiries; quitting the chosen retreat of Aurungzebe, which we have just been inspecting, and proceeding to other objects of interest contained within the walls of the city of Aurungabad.

Our next visit was to the gardens and apartments of Shah Sāfit, a celebrated and respectable personage, whose ancestors established themselves at Aurungabad during the reign of Aurungzebe, who treated them with marked attention and liberality. Their learning and extensive travels recommended them to his notice; and this they secured by their piety, and the fulfilment of some events of a favourable nature to Aurungzebe, which they had prophesied would come to pass. When the royal favour shone upon them, they had little more to do than to conduct themselves with adroitness. Their abode was the resort of all the learned and pious of the day: and Aurungzebe, though niggardly in some matters, was often munificently generous to celebrated men; and, upon the whole, to his subjects, rather a kind and considerate monarch, particularly if we take into consideration the turbulent times in which he reigned.

The family of Shah Sāfit had a considerable revenue allotted to them, and with it they are said

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to have done much good. The descendant of the family, to whom I was introduced, bore a very amiable character. He was near sixty years of age, but had much of the vigour of youth. He had travelled a good deal, visited many parts of the Mediterranean, had been at Rome, and in Palestine, and had returned to India, *viâ* Suez. His remarks were just, his manners unassuming, and his knowledge very considerable. I felt much pleasure in his society. As it was now getting late, and a funeral of a Hakim belonging to the establishment, lately deceased, was to take place that evening, he earnestly requested me to repeat my visit on the following day, when he would be better prepared to receive me, and have a few select friends, Hindoos and Moslems, to meet me. I, however, requested permission to attend in his train at the funeral. To this he assented, politely regretting that I could not during the time walk or converse with him.

As the forms observed at the burial of "one of the Faithful" may not be irrelevant, the following is an account of the ceremony. The body was brought out of the apartment on a bier, and placed in front of a mosque. An attendant mourner then placed his own hands in two small bags, and commenced washing the head, hands, and particularly the fingers of the deceased. During this ceremony a party were waving fans over the body, to prevent flies or insects from fixing on it. The custom of

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washing being over, the nostrils were now cleansed, and a little roll of cotton put in each. The body was now stripped completely naked, excepting a small piece of muslin over the middle; then carefully washed, and dried with a fine cloth, and rubbed with powder and sandal wood, camphor and myrrh, some of which had been burning in little brazen vessels at the head and feet of the corps. The two great toes were tied together by two narrow slips of muslin, and the body was then stretched out. This being done, a large fine piece of muslin, prepared for the occasion, was put into the hand of the Shah Sāfit, who, having repeated a few sentences from the Koran, both in Arabic, Persian, and Hindoostanee, gavè it to an attendant, who made slits in it for the head and hands of the deceased to be passed through. This being done, the covering fitted close to the neck: the hands were brought through the holes and laid out along the side. The body was now completely covered. At the foot part two holes were made for the toes to be inserted, which kept it fast. A few sentences and solemn dirges were now chanted; when a number of persons, throwing off their shoes, requested they might convey the body to the grave. Their desire being complied with, the procession moved on, accompanied by a vast number of spectators, who all saluted it with some pious exclamation or other, every one appearing anxious to bear a part in carrying the body. Near the

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burying-ground was raised a terrace, having a wall on one side facing towards Mecca. At this Yeedgāh, or place of mourning, the relatives and friends visit daily, to offer up prayers for the deceased.

No women were to be seen on the occasion; the very reverse of what takes place at the burning of a Hindoo corpse, where the females, sometimes hired for the purpose, make a most outrageous noise, beating their breasts, tearing their hair, and showing other frantic signs of grief. Well may the widow mourn; for, being often young, beautiful, and rich, it is hard that she cannot console herself with a second spouse, as our European dames are wont to do, who, having wealth at command, can pick and choose amongst adoring swains. If they have been unhappily betrothed or ill-treated, the demise of their lord is a blessing. Not so to the Hindoo female, who, however rich or beautiful, must content herself with the high honour of being burned alive, or living in the most rigid celibacy! Well may Espriella remark that "England is the paradise of women." Certainly they are treated in the dearest and most confidential way—as friends and advisers, rather than as helpmates and toys, drudges and conveniences. Long may it be so! for an English female of education deserves every tender care, respect, and affectionate treatment—a just homage to the beauty of their persons and to the superior qualities

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of their minds. Where I have spoken in terms of panegyric of the Hindoo female, or Mussulmanee, it is only as a good-natured, affectionate, pretty plaything; but it is the Englishwoman that is the solace, the friend, and companion of the man of sense and feeling.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Gardens and Reservoirs—Water-mill—Fountains—Jamai Muzjed—Scriptural Names—Mahomedan Worship—Mausoleum—Conversazione—Coffee—Native Ideas of Buonaparte—England—East India Company—Free Press—Public Opinion—Foreign States—Native Memorial—General Remarks on the Freedom of the Native Press in India.

I WENT early in the following morning, as Shah Sāfit had intimated to me if I would come early we might inspect the buildings, gardens, fountains, and last, but not least, a water mill, a phenomenon I had not before heard of in India. The principal garden stands on an elevated spot overlooking a broad stream*, and communicating with one of the principal gates of the city. On entering the garden we arrive at two large sheets of water of an oblong form, the banks of which are broad and well paved. In the first reservoirs were innumerable shoals of fish, so very tame that they were fed from the hand. From being never disturbed, and

* This stream, the vicinity of the fortress of Dowlutabad, the salubrity of the climate, and the surrounding country being open and fit for the chase and free from jungle (from the neighbourhood of which many diseases arise), were the real advantages that recommended the spot to Aurungzebe for his new city. The original name of the village was Kitki or Gurkah.

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fed daily; some were very aged and large, and all remarkably plump. They followed the feeders along the borders of the walk in one compact body, I should think nearly four feet in breadth, and literally stowed as close as herrings in a barrel. On the feeder suddenly turning round, to retrace his steps, the confusion of the fish, tumbling, jumping, and splashing, to regain their lost position, was laughable; your unwieldy old ones, like a fat-bellied citizen hurrying to a feast, pushing aside all the smaller fish, so that what could not be attained by swiftness and agility was procured by bulk and weight in bearing down all objects. It was really amusing to see the exertion they made to keep pace with the feeder: they swam close to the surface; when he stopped they ceased swimming; when he ran they exerted themselves with "might and main." Mr. Johnson informed me that he never had been able to procure a single fish for his table. Their *ancestors* were first put in the water by the royal hands of Aurungzebe, brought in great variety and expense from distant parts of India, so that they are almost held sacred, and treated with great care. These fish led a happy and enviable life, basking in the sun all day, gamboling in the water, making love, and being fed regularly; no enemies to dread, no offspring to be anxious about, no hard-hearted world to contend with, no false friends to fear, no vindictive relatives to harass them, they swim

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away their existence in all the tranquillity and joy imaginable, which is not what one man out of a thousand can say.

Near this piece of water is the mill*, which is supplied by means of aqueducts leading to a tank, whence the water is forced up to a large wooden reservoir about sixteen feet high, from which it descends, in copious and fantastic streams, on the mill. The apertures from which it escapes being cut a little distance from each other, and in different shapes, the descending streams assume varied forms. The mill itself is clumsily made, but of a very simple construction; its mechanical powers are not great, grinding only three hundred and two pounds of grain in ten hours. It is the only thing of the kind I ever saw in India, and was introduced by the ancestors of Shah Sāfit.

Not far from the mill is another large piece of water situate near the mosque, and, from the broad walks on each side, you command a fine view over the stream and the adjoining plains. In this pond there are no fish; but if deprived of their gambols, it has to boast of other ornaments, in having nineteen large fountains, that not only play off their

* *Hand*-mills, consisting of two flat circular stones, are the only mode of grinding corn in India: this portable machine is easily worked, and the duty belongs exclusively to the women, who, at day-break, commence their labours, which are always accompanied by a peculiar and plaintive, and by no means unmusical song.

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supplies very perfectly, but very abundantly, in a variety of curious forms. The mouths or spouts of the fountain are variously wrought; some discharging the water in four different directions at the same time; others sending up a graduated column of water; a few rising very slowly, and assuming a convex figure; others expanding into a concave and transparent sheet, and in a variety of shapes falling and rejoining their original stock. The supply is drawn from large pipes that communicate with the tank near the mill. At this spot the beauty of the neighbouring buildings, the fragrance issuing from the fruit and flower trees in the garden, the murmurings of the falling waters, the clacking of the mill, and the rich variety in the foliage, made the grounds most charming. The majestic forms of Mussulman priests and doctors flitting along to and fro among the trees in their long white robes, loose muslin trowsers, a plain little linen skull-cap on the top of the head, and small red slippers, occasionally gave an interesting feature to the beauty of these agreeable retreats.

Not far distant is the Jamai Muzjed, great mosque or church. Like all Mussulman places of worship, it is quite plain in design, and unadorned with any kind of paintings or statues; it faces Mecca; it is open on one side; the roof is arched and supported by pillars. In *this* place of worship are no benches, easy-seats, stuffed cushions or soft

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carpets, no paintings or sculptures, which the Mussulmans detest in the house of prayer as they do Shitān* (Satan) himself: there is neither pulpit nor desk; the Imaun or chief priest presides, and either he or the attendant Moollahs expound the Koran at certain seasons, or explain the moral and social duties, and their obedience to the great Creator. At the hours of prayer, which are generally three times a day, the people flock to the mosque, fall on their knees, shut their eyes, and go through the formula prescribed. On the name of God or Mahomet occurring, they make a genuflexion, and touch the floor of the building with their forehead: many go through their entire creed in this posture. There is a decency, a fervour, and unaffected piety in their devotions, that many Christians might well imitate, and not a word or look is exchanged even among the members of the same family. In a slow pace, not without dignity and solemnity, the Mussulman proceeds to and returns from his worship, giving alms to the wretched, and which they consider the most ac-

* This is the name of the Arch Fiend. Many of their cognomina (as they use them) are from Scripture, and which they acknowledge are taken from our Koran, as Solomon (*Solyman*), David (*Daoud*), Joseph (*Yuseph*), Abraham (*Ibrahim*), Jacob (*Yacoob*), Ishmael (*Ismael*), Jonah and Daniel, and many others. It may likewise be remarked, that the people of Nazareth they term *Nazarenes*, Romans *Romacas*, Israel *Israelii*, the tribe of Benjamin (*Beni Israelii*), &c.

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ceptable act man can offer to his Maker, although they have not the divine precept to guide them, "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord." They give without ostentation or show, nor do they wish it to be blazoned forth in newspapers or hand-bills; and their long and severe fasts they most rigidly keep.

The mausoleum that contains the remains of the ancestors of Shah Sāfit is a neat and commodious building: it was purposely darkened, and a number of lights were burning to "make darkness visible." The overpowering perfume arising from the burning of sandal-wood, camphor, myrrh, and other strongly impregnated ingredients upon and about the tomb, was such as to compel me to seek the open air. As far as I could observe, there appeared to be more respect paid at this shrine than at that of the queen mother, whose royalty appears to be of secondary consideration to the sanctity of the Sāfits. Be that as it may, the remains of royalty repose in a more splendid mausoleum.

We afterwards visited the gardens, which are spacious, and well laid out. After the hour of morning prayers I repaired to the apartments of Shah Sāfit, accompanied by two natives of respectability, friends of Mr. Johnson, who desired to pay their respects at the same time. We were received in a large room, open in front, the entire floor of which was spread over with a mattress stuffed with cotton, about 14 inches in thickness: over the

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greater part of the mattress was laid a carpet. At the entrance the visitors left their shoes, and after an exchange of salaams, bending the head, and touching the forehead with the palm of the hand, the company seated themselves cross-legged, and those who wished it had large stuffed cushions placed behind their backs to prop them up, or to support them in a recumbent posture.

The promised *select* party consisted of not less than thirty-three persons without us: among them were the literati, the cognoscenti, the ecclesiastic, and a few of that numerous class in all countries, *idlers*, or nondescripts, who having nothing to do, and being incapable of thinking, seek refuge wherever society herds together. I knew the members would soon thin; for in a country where politeness is so well understood, and etiquette so strictly observed, each guest knows by his rank or consequence how long he has to remain in the presence of a superior. Several Hindoos were of the party, who seemed to have quite forgotten the miseries their forefathers had sustained at the hands of the Moghul conquerors; nor is it alone in private society that we observe the cordiality and friendship existing between the two nations, whose pagodas and mosques often adjoin each other, and who perform a part voluntarily in the religious ceremonies and popular festivals of each other; a toleration and mildness alike honourable to Heathen and Mussulman.

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After the company were all seated, and a few desultory compliments had passed, hookahs, coffee, and confections were introduced and handed round to the company, who still continued sitting. The sweetmeats are too rich and greasy for the European palate; but the coffee was excellent, much better than any we get in England. It is unadulterated Mocha or Batavia coffee; that from the Isle of France is held but in little estimation. Great care is taken in the preparation of this beverage; it is seldom burnt till an hour or two before it is required for use, and not reduced into powder until the moment it is wanted: the proportion of water is three cups to one of coffee. A little scalding water is first sprinkled over the powder, and the cold water, of the quantity just mentioned, is then poured over it; after this it is boiled together, and as much of the steam retained in the vessel as possible. Milk is seldom used, and not often sugar. Nothing can be more refreshing and agreeable than a cup of good coffee, and a Mussulman prides himself on the excellence of his favourite beverage, as the old ladies of England do on their fine tea. I have heard many an Anglo-Indian complain how execrably bad coffee was in England; whether the fault is in the article or in the mode of preparing it, deponent sayeth not.

There are worse modes of passing an idle hour than in reclining on a soft mattress, whiffing mild

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and fragrant tobacco, imbibing good coffee; the ears regaled with the soothing sounds of fountains, the eyes and nostrils refreshed with the sight and scent of luxurious aromatic groves of fruit and flower-trees, and in listening to the remarks of sensible and well-educated natives, living in harmony with each other though of such opposite creeds. But the most pleasing circumstance at the moment I am speaking of was the proud idea of being an Englishman—a name beloved, respected, and dreaded by all ranks in India, whose admiration of our character is only equalled by their wonder at our strength, resources, and management. The period I am speaking of was during the height of the French war, when that wonderful character Buonaparte was in the zenith of his power, subjugating one kingdom and cajoling another. There appeared (as in his prototype Alexander) no bounds to his ambition or limit to his political aggrandizement; a man so eminently successful, that some of the well-informed persons of this assemblage, believing in predestinarianism, or that all things are deceed, declared that Buonaparte was an instrument in the hand of Providence to chasten the Franks*, Firengees and Nazarenes, for their ingratitude and sins. I reminded Shah

* The general terms for Europeans: Feringees is usually applied to Spaniards and Portuguese, while the Nazarenes imply Romans or Italians, the Dutch Bilander Luq, and the French Frances Luq.

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Sāfit that the true and faithful had not escaped Buonaparte's machinations, for that in Egypt they had obtained a share of his paternal regard. "True," they exclaimed; "but there the Englees (English) had opportunely stepped in and frustrated Buonaparte's designs;" adding, with their usual hyperbole, the English were always the friends of the Mussulman and of the Hindoo too. Although many of the party present were aware of the motives that induced us to check Buonaparte's career in Egypt, they would rather ascribe it to a desire on our part to assist our old friend the *Padshah Toork* than to any views of our own; nor was I disposed, for obvious reasons, to contradict them.

For one moment let us cast a thought on him whose remains now moulder at St. Helena*, that most dreary and iron-bound spot, situate in the middle of the ocean. We cannot help thinking of, nay, respecting the memory of a man whose

* I have been at this place three several times, and had once the ineffable vexation of being detained eleven weeks waiting for convoy. The poor sailors of the fleet, and the soldiers on shore, had fresh meat once, on the 4th of June. At the boarding-houses the charge was a guinea per day, and half that sum for a servant. Such execrable feeding was never witnessed; yams and fish, and, by way of change, fish and yams; salt-beef and pork disguised in all shapes; bad bread; little or no fruit; sometimes a half-starved fowl and dog mutton; wretched and mixed Cape wine; washing unconscionably dear, and dirty slave servants. Our detention was a severe penance.

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achievements astounded the world, and whose genius and talents raised him to a height and power unequalled at any era of history; and had it not been for the insular situation of England, the energies of her government, and the vast resources of the empire, all Europe must have fallen into his grasp. Where was the barrier to stop him, or the power to resist him, save the "sea-girt isle," that little "gem set in the silver sea?" We did resist him, tooth and nail, and that with profound success. England has escaped the thraldom his power threatened to inflict; and, instead of being subdued, thanks to Providence, we are as great and as glorious as ever: but whether the continent of Europe at large has benefited by his dethronement and removal may perhaps be paradoxical. His removal was necessary to the existence of England; but no one will deny but that, with his vices and follies, he had many of the attributes of a wise king and of a good man. Peace be to his ashes! for, though the mortal enemy of my country, he was still a great man. How strongly his fate reminds us of the lines in the immortal Shakspeare,

> "Glory is like a circle in the water,
> Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
> Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought!"

But the departed emperor was like a desperate and greedy gambler, who, flushed with success,

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knows not when to leave off play. With the ambition and heroism of Alexander, he possessed the judgment and talents of a Cæsar, the caution, dissimulation, and cunning of a Cromwell; but, with all this, he knew not where to stop. Now, lest I should appear as ambitious in figuring and manœuvring on paper as he was in the field, I will stop.

The preceding part of these observations was the outline of my replies to the questions and remarks of the company assembled at Shah Sāfit's.

Of the prowess and success of Buonaparte they had the most exalted ideas; not, however, more than they had of the miraculous power, as they termed it, of England: a wealthy Brahman observing, that "England was always fighting against the French, and, at the same time, occasionally making war with the other nations, as if the French *were not enough.* It was wonderful, truly wonderful; and yet the Selen Moolk'h (island country) was not larger than Bengal; and, still more extraordinary, fifty crore (millions) of people in Bharata (India) were happy in owning the English for masters!"

Of the East India Company the majority of this assemblage could form no just conception, either as to their origin or power at home. This I have often observed in cities remote from the sea-coast and far in the interior. A notion is prevalent among the uninformed that the Coompanee is the

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Begum, mother, of the king of England, or dowager queen, and that India is her dower. Then they will ask you again why the viceroy is not one of her sons. This idea is, however, at once satisfied by referring to each other that the sons and brothers of kings in India have always been a rebellious and undutiful race of varlets. Sometimes they will term the Company Boodee Mā, or the old mother; but, with the more enlightened, the term is Koompānee Ki Bahauder, which may be rendered—the lordly Company, or victorious Company; but of the meaning of the latter word they have no accurate notion.

If we are astonished at the success of Buonaparte in Europe, we cannot be much less so at the long and permanent success of the English in India. Notwithstanding the distance from the parent state, and the heterogeneous countries under its dominion, it is admirable how government is conducted. It is delightful to a Briton, who feels for the honour and prosperity of his country, to see how well the machine of government works in our mighty empire in the East: our first permanent and legal footing obtained in Bengal by a doctor curing an emperor (Ferokshere) of a distemper; and our dominion on the western side of India (Bombay) obtained in the marriage-portion of a princess (Catherine) of the royal house of Portugal to our Charles.

In the course of conversation, one or two intelli-

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gent men remarked they much desired the means of reading the ukbars (newspapers), and that, had they means and liberty of printing them, there were plenty of persons at the Presidencies who could and would be employed in translating their contents into Persian and Hindoostanee. Now, thought I, God forbid! The English are marvellously fond of improvements and reformations (or ameliorations, as they are called) in political economy and in the condition of the people, and would wish to make their subjects abroad as enlightened, and, consequently, as powerful, as their masters. We are pushing with rapid strides to convince the natives of India of our weakness, and of their own consequence and physical strength. Two more happy modes could not have been hit upon for the furtherance of this *desirable* object than a free press and the attempted conversion of the Hindoos and Mussulmans: with the former a hopeless undertaking, and with the latter utterly impracticable. But the mischief arising from the attempt is to be dreaded; and after-generations will have to deplore the excessive love of the English for improvements and innovations. Eternally attempting to modify and correct institutions and established forms, we go on incessantly, and by reaction produce greater evils than those we have vainly endeavoured to cure. Thus it is in the laudable wish to convert, and in giving to the natives of India (that inestimable blessing to *us*)

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a free press. The natives of India have for a series of years, under our mild and beneficent government, been happy and prosperous, without the aid of politics to amuse and edify them. They are contented, and could not possibly be under a more humane and generous government than that of the British. Oh, no! exclaims the well-meaning philanthropist; instruct and improve their minds—nothing can better diffuse knowledge than an unshackled press: they are our fellow-men, our Asiatic brethren. Yes, replies a factious, ambitious, and needy demagogue; tell them their weight in the scale of nations, their sufferings, the usurpations they have experienced, what they are capable of, and what they might achieve if they did but know their own importance and the insignificance of their conquerors. Now, allowing both Christians and quidnuncs to spring up together like mushrooms, the country would be plunged into confusion and ultimate ruin, and the mass of the population be infinitely worse off than before—no positive good done to them, and an irreparable injury done to ourselves and posterity.

There are many thousand turbulent and ambitious characters among the native population of India, who, by the changes constantly taking place in the distant provinces, either by the introduction of our judicial and revenue laws, or the establishment of subsidiary or auxiliary forces, have been, by the course of these events, deprived of civil and

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military employments. Many of these persons are of ancient and aristocratical families, possessing high notions, much local influence, and cultivated abilities; and though the prince of the country and the great mass of the people solicit and hail with joy our protection, still there are a great number of respectable men left destitute of public employment, and, consequently, shorn of their former honours, wealth, and power. One general instance may be given in elucidation: viz. all the old noble families and feudal lords who were attached to the imperial court at Delhi have now merged into pensioners, or have sunk into poverty and obscurity, or are fugitives in foreign states, filling low offices, or more often living upon the precarious bounty of their countrymen.

Although the restoration (were the event practicable) of the ancient dynasties of India to their former splendour, and of the higher orders to their former power, would be the greatest curse that could afflict the people, ambitious and needy men would not view the event in that light. It is among these persons that the liberty of the press would be misused; and when once the sentiments (which would assuredly emanate from an unlicensed press) of artful and daring men became generally diffused, the most disastrous consequences would ensue, not only to our rule, but the happiness of the industrious and peaceful multitude would be invaded and compromised. The natives of India, na-

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turally brave, having few or no wants, and three-fourths of the population being brought up in military habits, would, when urged on by designing and disappointed demagogues, lead us a dance with our free press that the wise men of the *West* have not the least conception of. Our closet philanthropists and fire-side quidnuncs, in legislating for India, must recollect that our empire there is that of PUBLIC OPINION. The natives know us to be good, and believe us to be powerful, nay, invincible—prosperous and great at home, feared and respected by our neighbours. Once undeceive them, and allow factious and intriguing men to spread false and inflammatory opinions and reports, and you undo in a year what the wisdom of your forefathers has been a century cementing *.

I wish, in the spirit of the best feelings towards India and Great Britain, with true and dispassionate motives to inquire what is the counteracting good promised by the said free press. Would the immense population of India become a jot happier, more enlightened, or more virtuous? I think not; but, on the contrary, would see much in our actions to disgust, to reprobate, and to inflame their minds. Ever meddling, ever improving, ever reforming,

* "So long as we have honest and intelligent rulers in that country, it will be sedulously protected from the certain and incalculable mischiefs which such an engine in the hands of needy and unprincipled adventurers cannot fail to produce."—*Quarterly Review.*

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the philanthropy and good-nature of the English know no bounds. Charitable and humane to an excess, and devoutly attached to liberty and the moral improvement of mankind, England keeps alive a spirit of freedom all over the world: and the good fortune, and often misfortune, of other nations may be traced to the example set by England. To her may the Turk and Ferdinand the Seventh attribute the jeopardy in which they are placed; and the perilous situation of the West Indies has its origin at home. South America would never have shaken off her allegiance had it not been for England. These, with the exception of the turbulent state of the West Indies, are glorious events: but let us be careful of our own possessions in the East Indies, if we value them; for there our good intentions are misdirected, and will only be productive of incalculable evil. England supplies most abundantly to people in all parts of the world liberty, Christianity, and loans. The first sets them in motion, the second regulates their motion, and the last preserves their motion. This is all admirable as far as it concerns others; but India is incapable of appreciating freedom or the blessings of Christianity. Our *present* system of government in India, contrasted with that of the native powers, is a *real* blessing*.

* "It is a most egregious mistake to suppose that the institutions of Europe, however highly we may prize them, from our

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In these few desultory observations I am not actuated by hostility to any party, or prejudiced in any way: it is the candid and honest opinion of one well acquainted with the natives of India, and one who, though he adores his native land, loves the people of India too much to wish to see them plunged, by chimerical and visionary projects, into anarchy and ruin. But, as one matter of fact is worth a bushel of argument, we will in this place insert, from personal observation, the feelings of educated natives on account of reverses or misfortunes occurring to us in Europe. I have heard a native, of an old and once powerful family, chuckle at the idea of the capture of an English frigate during the American war—an event they before thought utterly impossible; and he observed, in that way where more is meant than meets the ear, "The Americans were formerly British subjects, and can they now oppose and defeat you?" At the period I allude to there was a strict censorship over the press, even as far as regarded the copying of English articles without the comments of the European editors. But it is not of these gentlemen generally that I intend to make the most remote complaint, or throw out a shadow of insinuation: it is the unlicensed native press, con-

experience of their benefits, can be successfully transplanted into the foreign soil of Indian manners."—*Edinburgh Review*, 1824.

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ducted by natives in the native language, to which these few remarks are chiefly directed.

At the time of the American war, articles from the English papers were sought for, to my certain knowledge, with the greatest avidity; and, although these were unaccompanied by any editorial annotations, the substance was highly gratifying to many a latent enemy of the British government. Had they been sent forth with highly-coloured statements of our defeats and losses, and these, by means of the native press, been widely disseminated over India, the consequences must have been highly injurious to us; but, in a time of any *continued* or signal misfortunes happening to Great Britain, can it be doubted for a moment that every advantage would be taken of the circumstance by thousands of able, aspiring, and discontented individuals? In a community where the majority are utterly dependent on the government, or are its own servants, freedom of discussion can only tend to injure the former and dissatisfy the latter —no party is benefited: the government is reviled and condemned by its own immediate servants, and they are led to believe and to fancy themselves aggrieved and injured, and are told they have a prescriptive right, not only to inquire into, but to direct, the conduct and movements of the state. This is necessary in England; but for my part, in a population consisting of conquerors and con-

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quered, where the latter are as millions to thousands of the former, liberty of the press and freedom of discussion appear to me to be fraught with imminent danger to the state, and misery to the people at large. Already, the people having tasted the *blessings* of free discussion, an address (March 31, 1823) has been presented, in respectful but firm language, by a large body of wealthy natives, praying for liberty of the press. The following are two extracts:

"While your memorialists were indulging the hope that government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and *impartial* information regarding what is passing in all parts of the country, would encourage the establishment of newspapers in the cities and districts under the special patronage and protection of government, that THEY might furnish the Supreme authorities in Calcutta with an *accurate* account of local occurrences, and reports of *judicial* proceedings, *they* have the *misfortune* to observe that, on the contrary, his Excellency the Governor-General in council has lately promulgated a rule and ordinance, imposing severe restraints on the press, and prohibiting all periodical publications, even at the Presidency, and in the native languages, unless sanctioned by a licence from government, which is to be *revocable* at pleasure, whenever it shall appear to government that

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a publication has contained any thing of an *unsuitable* character."

This paragraph alludes to the restriction lately imposed upon the press at Bengal. The object therein alluded to is as unnecessary as the argument adduced in its support is fallacious, as the government have full and constant opportunity of knowing what is passing in the interior. The other paragraph which I shall select contains excellent doctrine, as applicable to a civilised and parent state; but in no wise suits a conquered country, composed of discordant materials, like our vast empire in India *.

"Every *good* ruler who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world, must be conscious of the great liability to *error in managing the affairs of a vast empire;* and therefore he will be anxious to afford every individual the *readiest* means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the *unrestrained liberty of publication* is the only effectual means that can be employed. And, should it ever be abused, the established law of the land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of

* On this interesting subject, the reader is referred to my recent publication, entitled "*A Voice from India,*" 239 pages, price 7*s*.

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government, which are effectually guarded by the same laws to which individuals must look for the protection of their reputation and good name."

I am free to confess, notwithstanding the innate and invincible abhorrence with which I view any arbitrary proceeding in a government towards its subjects, that the application of an educated, wealthy, and restless body of people, for the right of discussing the conduct and merits of the government, ought to be received with caution and distrust, as there is no knowing, when the spirit is *once awakened*, where it may end; and if we trust our hope in the good behaviour, or sense of propriety, or feelings of attachment or gratitude in the heterogeneous mass which composes the population of India, we shall, when too late, find ourselves most miserably deceived.

But for another proof, "and facts are stubborn things." During any of the successes gained by the French armies in Spain, the news spread with quickness, and by certain classes was received with greedy avidity:—true, those classes were, comparatively, not numerous, but they had an object to gain, and were alike active and dissatisfied. A wealthy Rajpoot once said to me, in a respectful way, "You are assisting the Spaniards to drive out the French, and then will retain possession yourselves." During this time I have known passages transcribed, and the copies, at great expense and trouble, sent into the interior for objects pretty

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obvious. I would wish to ask any man with an independent and well constituted mind, what might have been the result, had the means of printing the above transcripts, and the liberty of *commenting* upon them, been in their power? My answer is, that the effect would be to bring the government into contempt and hatred, and eventually to sap the relations which now exist between the people and the state. Every act, every event, and every public deed would be questioned and stigmatised; and by whom?—by those who must look upon us as invaders and conquerors, but who *now*, seeing our indulgent weakness, our kind concern for their mental improvement (the cant term for freedom of discussion), would designate us as imbeciles and madmen *.

Happily for the mother country and the peace of India, the Supreme Government have, by the late restrictions, put an end to the evil ere it arrived at any growth: and for which judicious measure Mr. John Adam, the late Governor-General, and his coadjutors, deserve the warmest praise. Runjeet Sing, a powerful and independent prince, pos-

* It has been improperly stated by some *candid* persons that I have adopted my sentiments from the speeches made in Parliament, and at the India House. The above subject was written in December, 1823, and published in the following April. The question of the free press, &c. came on in the House of Commons on the 25th May, and at the India House in June following; a convincing proof that I have neither followed in the steps of others, nor borrowed their ideas.

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sessing superior talents and great resources, regularly gets the English papers, and any choice *morceaux* relating to us he has regularly transcribed and sent to his principal officers. His ambitious mind, as well as successful career, his known wish to enlist European officers in his service, and his more than probable occasional intercourse with Russia, render him an object of deep interest, and under many suspicious circumstances that have of *late* occurred in that quarter, I am surprised that we have no British resident at his Court.

In these observations, elicited by the remark made by one of Shah Sāfit's guests about freedom of discussion and getting the newspapers printed in the native languages, I could not have foreseen that the day would have arrived when four Native newspapers would have been established at Calcutta*; and that when the government of the country require, for their *own* security, that the publishers of newspapers and periodicals should be under certain restrictions, and be furnished with a license, that an address (or what most men would call a remonstrance) soliciting a relief from both, should be presented by respectable natives, who never till *now* questioned our policy, but who, on the contrary, bowed with cheerfulness, and sub-

* The *Mirat ool Akhbar*, or "Mirror of Intelligence," was denominated a Tory paper, the other three as Whig papers. "A pretty state of things truly, among 100,000,000 of conquered people, governed by 35,000 Europeans!"

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mitted with gratitude and respect to every act of the government. Times are changed, and are fearfully changing; but it is our own fault: the spirit of improvement, or rather innovation, which we so zealously support, will by and by recoil on our own heads; then will exclaim the wise men of the west, "Dear me, who would have thought it?"

One parting word in good fellowship to all parties in politics and sects in religions: while we treat our subjects in India with kindness and care, let us not forget that prudence and vigilance, which alone can ensure our permanent dominion in the vast Oriental continent, and bear in mind, that what may be a blessing to Great Britain may be a curse to India.

As much misapprehension exists in England as to the state of society in India, I purpose offering in my next chapter a brief but accurate statement of society in that country, by which we shall see how incompatible a free press is with the order of things in our Oriental possessions.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Popular notions—Divisions of Society in India—Civil and Military Officers—Reform—Local Governments—British Press—Anglo Indians.

ALTHOUGH the particular question involved in the late discussions at the India House respecting the press in our Asiatic possessions may be considered to have been set at rest, by the decision passed by the Court of Proprietors on the 23d July, and the attention of the public has been since drawn to the subject generally in different papers which have been submitted to them; still it may be advisable further to consider, whether a free press in India is calculated to produce those advantages which the advocates for it so confidently anticipate, or whether it may not rather be productive of quite a contrary effect.

In every discussion of this nature, those who stand forward as the advocates of a free press, or of any other general privilege or immunity, have, at the onset at least, a decided advantage over their opponents. The former have only to embellish their speeches or writings with some general reflections on the liberty of the people, and with a few pointed paragraphs against arbitrary autho-

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rity, and they may rest assured that, in a country like this, their discourses will by many be well received, however deficient in solid argument or correct information. Those, on the contrary, who profess themselves advocates for any restrictions in India, to which the mind is not accustomed in this country, have to contend against impressions received in early youth, and afterwards nurtured and kept alive by popular feeling and free institutions to the last hour of existence. These circumstances, however, only render it the more essential *dispassionately* to consider, whether, in the actual condition of the people of India, that dependency of the empire is really fitted for discussions similar to those with which the press abounds in this country.

The question may be examined, first, with reference to the Europeans; and secondly, with regard to the natives of India, who may continually engage in discussions of that nature, embracing, as they obviously would do, the political connexion subsisting between Great Britain and India, the system of government established in the latter country, our relations with the different states of Asia, and the internal administration of our own territories by the local governments. It cannot, I say, be unimportant to consider whether either or both of the two classes of persons abovementioned are qualified by education, study, and experience, to engage in discussions so closely

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connected with the dearest and most important interests both of the parent state and of its Asiatic dependencies.

With respect to the British subjects who resort to India, they may be subdivided with sufficient precision for the present occasion into four, viz., The Civil Functionaries; 2d, Military Officers; 3d, Gentlemen of the legal profession, and substantial Merchants; and 4th, Adventurers in any line of life by which they can obtain the means of subsistence.

A few lines will perhaps suffice to show that all those classes of persons are either precluded by their situation in life from engaging with advantage and propriety in discussions of the above nature, or are disqualified for the task by the want of knowledge and information, both local and general.

With respect to the first class of persons above mentioned, there is no country in the world in which the civil officers of government have such laborious and incessant duties to perform as in India. Admitting, therefore, what cannot indeed be disputed, that many of them are persons of cultivated minds and superior talents, it must be manifest, that few, if any, of them can find leisure from their official avocations to write for the press. Exclusively of this consideration, their actual situation as public functionaries disqualifies them for discussions of the nature of those which the

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present remarks bear upon. It would not, I presume, be deemed very decent, or becoming in a Secretary to the Government, a Member of one of the Courts of Judicature, a Magistrate, or any other public functionary, to employ his pen in animadverting upon the conduct or measures of the government by which he was himself employed. Neither is it desirable that he should exhibit himself to the public as its advocate or defender, as such procedure must always wear the aspect of adulation and unqualified subjection to authority.

If the civil servants of the Company be restrained, by the considerations above-mentioned, from engaging in publications of a political nature, still less should its military officers, *while on duty*, in India, occupy themselves with discussions and controversies of that description. It may not, perhaps, be universally known in this country, that the whole of the forces in India, both European and native, are uniformly kept embodied and prepared for actual service. The natural and honourable duty of persons so situated is to defend the state with their arms; leaving the conduct of those who are invested with the immediate government of the country to the superintendence of the authorities which have been established in England by the Legislature expressly for that salutary purpose.

No country is more distinguished than India by

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the enlightened and liberal character of its merchants;—that is, a small body of men who have acquired, or are acquiring, large property by their mercantile pursuits; but this class of persons have little or no leisure for political discussion, and very few indeed of them, it is believed, have contributed any thing to those pages with which the press has teemed so abundantly during the last three or four years.

We come now to speak of the fourth class of persons above described, under the general appellation of Adventurers. These usually are persons in the middle rank of life, and may have education sufficient for ordinary business, but nothing more. Individuals of this class usually engage as clerks in the public offices, as mariners in the country ships, as indigo planters, as shop-keepers, and (absit invidia) as editors of newspapers. If little or no advantage can be anticipated from rendering up the press free and uncontrolled to the three classes of persons before-mentioned, still less can it be maintained, that any substantial benefit is likely to result from the lucubrations of individuals of the character last described. The system established for the administration of our Asiatic possessions, says one, is in principle wrong. The practical conduct of the local government, says another, is arbitrary and oppressive. But supposing that these and other objections had the least foundation in truth, can it for a moment

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be imagined that persons with the very limited attainments above-mentioned are qualified to correct defects which demand knowledge and talents of the very first order, combined with the most extensive experience of every thing connected with our Asiatic territories? The question is not, here, whether there may be defects which should be corrected; improvements which should be introduced; or even misconduct which should be punished; but merely whether the only class of persons, who, as we have above seen, are likely to engage in discussions of that nature, are at all qualified for so delicate and important a task. If any person shall doubt of the evils which may arise from the interposition of persons of heated imaginations and weak judgments on matters of reform, let him refer to Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution. The last *forty* years have furnished more signal examples of the evils arising from *injudicious* attempts at reform than are to be found in the *whole* page of history besides. It may of course be said, that no such spirit at present prevails among the great body of the people in India. Fortunately it does not; but the natural tendency of such discussions as those to which the present remarks refer is to generate a spirit of that nature; and if it be once excited, no human wisdom can possibly predict its effects.

Having said thus much with respect to the different classes of British subjects in India, and of

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the fitness of each of those descriptions of persons to engage in discussions of a political nature, I shall have occasion to add but little on the subject as applicable to the natives of India. They consist, for the most part, of two great bodies, viz., Hindoos and Mahomedans, differing essentially from each other as to religious manners and customs, but alike disqualified by education and habit for forming any sound notions respecting those general principles on which the government of our Indian possessions, or of any other country, must be founded. In fact, neither of these classes of persons have any idea of a government but as a pure, unmixed despotism.

If abuses be committed by the persons exercising the chief authority, or by the public officers, they, like other individuals of common sense and judgment, in which, generally speaking, they are by no means deficient, can no doubt discern and reprobate the evil. With respect, however, to the different forms of civil government, the balance of power among the several orders in the state, and other speculative opinions of that sort, it may be confidently affirmed, that the wisest among them know less than an ordinary schoolboy in this country. What, then, can be gained by inflaming the minds of such persons with discussions, the merits of which, as already mentioned, they are utterly incapable of appreciating.

It may be urged, perhaps, that if the natives of

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India be so totally destitute of all political knowledge as they are here represented to be, it is the more desirable that such ignorance should be dissipated by means of the press. But this, surely, would be to commence at the wrong end. In this country every person, however young, on his first entrance into society or public life, brings with him a certain fund of knowledge on political subjects, which he has derived from his studies at school and the university. This information may indeed be crude and superficial; but however defective it may be, it serves as a basis for further research, by which the mind is gradually led to the attainment of whatever is valuable and important in the science of politics and legislation. It is not impossible to conceive that something of this sort may one day or another be experienced in India. Great efforts have been made during some years past to improve the intellectual condition of the natives, and some good may perhaps have been already effected by those means. At the same time, it is evident that years, or rather centuries, must elapse before such an alteration can take place in the education of the natives, as may enable them, on attaining the age of manhood, to form sound opinions on political questions, or to bear a part in discussions of that nature. In the mean time, what course are we to pursue?

The natives, generally speaking, are, I am persuaded, fully satisfied with the system of govern-

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ment established among them, and perfectly conscious that they enjoy security of person and property in a degree which could not *possibly* be expected under any of the native Asiatic governments. With these blessings they are for the present content. We may, no doubt, by means of newspapers and pamphlets, gradually diffuse among them the notion that they are not governed as they ought to be, and that the subjects of other States enjoy privileges and immunities to which, on the principles of the "Rights of Man," they ought to be admitted. Will any person, however, seriously maintain that, by the diffusion of such ideas, their intellectual or political condition will be ameliorated? The foundations of the former must, as already intimated, be laid in very early life; and, considering the religious mind both of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, it is not an easy task to introduce improvements of that nature. In the mean time we must act for them as we should act, and in fact do act, for certain classes of persons in this country, who are precluded, by whatever cause, from having any share in the administration of its affairs: in other words, every thing should be done *for* the natives of India, but not *by* them. Ample means already exist for the accomplishment of that object. The local governments abroad are employed without intermission in the discharge of the important functions intrusted to them, including of course such improve-

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ments in the internal state of the country as it may be deemed wise and safe to introduce. The detailed reports made to the Court of Directors, and through the Court to the Board of Control, have given to those authorities the fullest means of judging of the propriety of the measures pursued, or of suggesting themselves such arrangements as might be deemed advisable. Nor are discussions of this nature by any means unknown in either House of Parliament, or in the Court of Proprietors. These are obviously the proper channels for any reforms which the theoretical system or practical administration of our Indian territories may require. But if, after all, the press be deemed a necessary instrument in the execution of the work in question, let it be the *English* press. Here it is in many instances conducted by persons of talent and knowledge.

An unfounded assertion or erroneous opinion in one newspaper or pamphlet is sure to meet its refutation and exposure in another. The discussions themselves would likewise, in all probability, be conducted with greater temper and sobriety in this country than in India. In the latter, the feelings and interests of individuals or particular bodies may be excited by causes which could have no influence on the minds of the people at home. In a word, the mischiefs which may arise from the agitation of such subjects in India will be in a great measure, if not entirely, obviated by con-

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fining the discussion of them to the English press. It may be urged, perhaps, that the individuals who usually write for the press in England have not resided in India, and that however well qualified in other respects, they are destitute of all local knowledge respecting that country. The observation may, generally speaking, be well founded. At the same time, it is notorious that persons of talent and experience return annually from India. The persons in question are gentlemen who have filled, during a long course of years, high situations in the civil or military service of the Company, or in the department of the law, at each of the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Among these, a few at least will be soon disposed to exercise their talents in elucidating, through the medium of the press, any question of policy which can be agitated respecting India; and it may, I think, be safely affirmed, that the matured opinions of only two or three such persons are of infinitely greater value than the crude conceptions of a whole horde of adventurers, with the limited attainments and imperfect means of information enjoyed by individuals of that class during their residence in our Indian territories.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Pāān Soopāree—Baroda—Diplomacy—Etiquette—Fire-works—Jugglers—Snake Charmers—Scorpions—Character of Aurungzebe—Warren Hastings—Native Governments.

As there were one or two other objects of curiosity to visit at Aurungabad, I hinted to Shah Sāfit my desire to take my leave. The usual offering of Pāān Soopāree then took place, without which ceremony no guest can depart. It is more a point of etiquette than any thing else; and the rank of a visitor, or the respect in which he is held, is discoverable by the way in which the silver plate is offered. It is not presented by a menial, but generally by one of the family or court. If handed to you by a person of superior consequence to yourself, the greater is the honour intended; or if by an inferior to yourself in the grades of society, when you are soliciting a favour, or trying to obtain a great man's notice, your case is utterly hopeless; consequently many a dependent courtier or needy suppliant looks with tremulous apprehension to the introduction of the betel-nut; but should the master of the house, or the prince in his court, which is sometimes the case, offer you the "spicy packet," your fortune is inevitably made, and you

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may hug yourself in the idea of being cordially hated by the whole herd of sycophants and place-hunters.

The ceremony of giving the pāān soopāree is likewise a most convenient mode of getting rid of a tiresome levee of courtiers and applicants. It is the signal for moving, and the usual court way of breaking up an assembly. The ingredients of which the packet consists are the areca nut, split into small pieces, an aromatic leaf (betel) cardamoms, prepared lime, and terra-japonica: this is handed round to all the company. At the dances and festivals, when given to the performers, it expresses approbation of their exertions, but has another signification when given to the females.

I recollect one instance where the introduction of the pāān soopāree dish gave me infinite delight. As the incident is not long, and it relates to a ceremony "of high import in India," and but little known in England, I will briefly relate the circumstance. I once suffered three hours' purgatory through the kindness of Major J. R. C——c, our then minister at the court of his highness the Guicvar, at Baroda, the capital of Goojrāat. After a very excellent dinner in pleasant company, at the resident's hospitable board, about nine o'clock at night, just after the cloth was removed, a state hircarrah (messenger) arrived to communicate that the Babajee and the Devanjee (prime minister) would assemble shortly, and wished to see the

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Burra sāhib (great man). The resident, with his usual urbanity, remarked to me, "It is something in your way,—something new:—would you like to accompany me?" My evil stars, and my unlucky bent for pushing myself into any novelty that related to the Hindoos, prevailed. A few of the body guard were soon ordered out, and *we* proceeded to the discussion of state affairs, or what is called a durbar, or council, usually held at night. The distance from the Residency to the *premier's* house was nearly a mile. I had left a very choice party; but as much was to be seen, and perhaps somethin g learnt, I very gladly (being proud of the honour of accompanying so able a diplomatist and excellent man as the Resident), jogged on on foot, our palanquins following, running footmen and flambeaux preceding. The fact was, I had always an hankering towards the *diplomatique;* but whether it was the want of talents, or the want of friends, or perhaps both; I never succeeded in obtaining the notice of government; although there are some in the same line of the public service, and of the same standing in the army, to whom I would not succumb in point of the necessary qualifications, or fitness to discharge the duties of an assistant. As I am friendless, and no one will speak for me, I am *nolens volens*, as it were, necessitated to speak for myself in the line of my profession; and having been in the Company's service since 1803, I trust to be excused for my egotism and

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vanity, particularly as it is the first time in my book that I have presumed to exercise the reader's patience on professional pursuits.

But, to resume our visit. We arrived at the mansion of the minister, a gloomy, heavy-looking stone building, and built for those times when every house was a fortress; periods when no man knew whether his head would be on his shoulders on the following morning. We ascended a steep stone staircase, each step nearly two feet in height, and so narrow, that only one person could proceed at a time, and if, in returning, he missed a stair, he would infallibly be precipitated to the bottom, and break his neck. It may be supposed how difficult assailants would find the forcing of one of those stone ladders, to which they bear a greater resemblance than to staircases. The walls on the outside of the house are enfiladed by loop-holes, so that the houses of the great are literally their castles. The same remark applies to the houses at other Mahratta capitals, Poona, &c.

We were ushered with great state into a magnificent apartment, the *entire* walls and ceilings of which were hung with very large mirrors; and a thick mattress covered with satin was spread over the whole apartment. One side of the room was open, and looked into a smaller, where some fountains were playing, that gave a refreshing coolness to the air. So far, so good; but the miseries of Oriental diplomacy were to commence.

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The dull prolixity, the profusion of etiquette, the wary reasoning of the Brahmans, and the heartless ceremonies and the nauseating hyperbole, would have surfeited the most complaisant courtier, and have tired the patience of Job. How it must have exhausted mine, who had no interest in the matters discussed, then young and volatile, may be imagined when I say, that for upwards of three hours I sat cross-legged, with no source of amusement to occupy my time; no refreshment whatever; no one to speak to; and from politeness compelled to sit still, and look contented and pleased at the salutes of those who occasionally passed to and fro on business! In short, I was cramped in my limbs, and could not move; was drowsy, but durst not sleep; was thirsty, and could not ask for water; was bursting with interrogations, and my mouth was hermetically sealed. In this penance I was placed, looking as wise and as cheerful as I could. If I had been but allowed to have whistled "Begone dull care," or "Life let us cherish," or some other soothing ditty, it would have been some relief:—no;—fixed, immoveable, like a statue; how did I long and pray for the introduction of the pāān soopāree! and when it arrived, I hailed its appearance with infinitely more joy (and that is saying a great deal) than an hungry *overseer* of the *poor* betrays at a *charity* feast on the appearance of the sirloin.

The betel-nut being brought in, was the signal

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for departure, and it was passed round by one of the ministers to each person, according to their rank, beginning first with the British Resident. Vastly edified and amused, I returned between twelve and one in the morning, and partook of the greatest luxury we have in India—a glass of Hodgson's pale ale, and some pine-apple cheese.

The evening of the second day of my arrival at Aurungabad was spent in the company of my friend and some respectable natives, and we were gratified at night with the exhibition of good fire-works. I shall merely observe, *en passant*, that the natives excel us in the manufacture of these articles, and in the mode of displaying them. I have seen representations at Baroda, at Arcot, and at Benares, of sieges, battles, and fleets engaging on real pieces of water, that were truly beautiful and astonishing: the blowing up of mines, explosion of magazines, tumbling down of walls and masts, and the sinking of ships, were superior to any thing of the kind I ever saw in England, and upon a much larger scale of display than our best exhibitions are. Besides fire-works we had some skilful jugglers; but as their feats are known in England, I shall say nothing on the subject, further than that these men in different parts of India vary in their performances. One trick practised upon myself was new to me. A man gave me a small roll of cloth, about seven inches long, and told me to hold it in my hands; he then went off a little distance,

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returned, muttered some gibberish, looked at my hand to see if it was closed, gave it a squeeze, and told me to open it; when lo! in my hand was a small live snake: this I dropped with the same instinct that a child would a hot coal.

Among the exhibitors were some regular snake charmers, men who are employed in India to destroy these reptiles in gardens. They are a kind of musical itinerants, that not only find snakes, but have the secret of drawing them out of their holes. This is done *chiefly* by means of a tabor and pipe, and a piece of red cloth, with which they dazzle their sight*, while the music delights their hearing. We have the authority of David in the 58th Psalm, that the art was known to the ancients. "They are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." After they are caught, the poison is extracted, and they are tamed and taught to be obedient to the voice of their keeper, and to move the head in cadence to his music. The cobra de capello, or gukuru, (hooded snake) will spread his hood, look fierce, gradually rise for a spring, and at last dart at his master, fix his teeth in his leg or thigh, bring blood by the bite he inflicts, in which there is no deception, and then with frightful energy writhe his muscular folds

* *Probably* they also hold in their hand a piece of looking-glass.

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round the leg of the man. In a snake eight or nine feet long, the size of a large man's arm, the sight is rather terrific; but so well are these reptiles taught "*their duties*," that on a particular tune being played, they unloosen their gripe instantly, retreat to their baskets, coil themselves up and take a comfortable nap, content with having earned their meal at the hands of their keeper. They are made to fight with each other; and the little fierce mongoose, a kind of ferret, will often attack both the combatants, and not quit them until he is forcibly withdrawn.

These were the snake exhibitions of the evening. Were I to proceed with anecdotes of snakes and escapes from them, of which I have been an eye-witness, I should never finish my journey from Elora. In some other form at a future time I may embody these curious narrations: at present we will close the evening's amusement with but three anecdotes, only introduced as I believe they are chiefly unknown at home.

The public have seen by the papers the wonderful efforts of a dog called *Billy*, in killing a stipulated number of rats in a minute; but the little mongoose in perseverance, sagacity, and courage, gives way to no dog Billy in the world. Not near so big as a rabbit, he will attack the large snake in its *wild* state, and contend successfully with his deadly opponent, or perish in the attempt; but on no account will he commence his attack on the

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snake till he has ascertained that there is a peculiar species of grass close at hand, to which on being bitten he instantly runs, eats a good deal, vomits, rolls himself, and returns fiercely to the charge; but on no account will he act offensively if the grass is not to be procured. His quickness and cunning in avoiding the darting of the snake, or being squeezed to death in his folds, are admirable. Some gentlemen in India keep these animals about their grounds, but they are apt to destroy the poultry and to run wild.

The vulture and kite are natural enemies to the snake, and of which they are well aware, for in moving about they keep close to banks or in thick grass; but the peacock is very useful in gardens in destroying the small kind of snakes, which they do with great skill and success, and to my certain knowledge are kept in some gentlemen's grounds for the express purpose. Nor is the stately adjutant (a species of large crane upwards of three feet in height), that with as much pride as a new made sergeant struts about the pavement of Fort-William, a less deadly foe to the serpent, nor is he very choice whether the snake is large or small. His capacious stomach and powers of digestion are such, that he stands in no danger of being incommoded or disordered by swallowing any thing. I pledge my honour that I have seen one of these birds, in front of the window of my quarters in Fort-William, (at the time I was at the college of

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Calcutta for the purpose of acquiring the Persian language) standing upon the pavement watching for something to be thrown to him, and who actually swallowed two large ribs of beef: one rib perfect and whole was thrown to the bird, which he caught and swallowed *instanter;* and then the remaining one, with nearly two pounds of meat attached to the bone, was thrown, which he pecked at a little and likewise swallowed. He then drew one of his legs up under him, stood on the other, and took a comfortable nap for at least an hour.

The other instance relating to snakes or reptiles will not take up much space. We have all heard of the faded glories of Hockley-in-the-hole, prize-fights, and dog-fights; but what I am about to relate may be new to the *Fancy*, or those who have not the *honour* of belonging to that distinguished body,—a scorpion fight. Now, as the venerable Mrs. Glass would say in her excellent book on cooking: Take two large blue scorpions, put them under a good large-sized glass tumbler, leave a little vent at the bottom for the admission of air, and blow in the smoke of tobacco (vulgo, *funking*) at the same aperture. The scorpions will commence running round the glass as fast as their legs can carry them; but, when in their circumvolutions, they overtake or meet each other, then comes the "tug of war," and a deadly battle ensues. Let the smoke then escape, and they will fight like very devils till one or other dies, and your bet is won or

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lost, according to which you may have backed, light blue or dark blue. Now, as from the dishonesty and trickery lately shown in some prize-fights (*crosses*), and the impossibility of bribing a scorpion to lose a battle, let me recommend this amusement to the *noble* and *gentle* of the land. It has novelty to recommend it, and there is honesty in the proceeding, which is not the case with three pugilistic contests out of five.

I do not think that these digressions become an Antiquarian of *my* deep research; but, however, I will console myself with the observation—I forget who's—"The mind must be sometimes diverted, that it may return the better to thinking;" and I promise you, gentle reader, and indulgent critic, we have to wade through a dissertation on the conversion of the Hindoos, some notices of the Mahratta chief Sevajee, and of those terrible fellows the Bheels, who are such expert and daring thieves, that they will almost take a tooth out of your head whilst you are asleep without disturbing you!

In my narrative, what I cannot supply in learning or talents, I must in accuracy and fidelity, and in some original matter. There is many an F.A.S. who would have made a ponderous quarto out of the Elora temples alone; but as I have not the adroitness of elongating, or saying much where a little would do, I must be content with my *olio;* and by composing my narrative of various ingredients, as the aforesaid Mrs. Glass composes a

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plum-pudding, of opposite and mixed materials, my book, when whole and mixed up together, may produce a palatable dish: at least, I very humbly hope so.

Did I inundate my pages with the stores of a retentive memory relating to events, anecdotes, and miscellaneous observations made in India, I should not have closed by this time twelvemonth; but we will now close this part by stating, that after a variety of amusements, the night pleasantly closed at Mr. Johnson's, and that an engagement was made for the following morning to see the ruined palace of Aurungzebe, the arsenal, and a large tank, and afterwards to meet half-a-dozen select friends at Shah Sāfit's, whom age and retired habits prevented from being of last night's party.

The remains of Aurungzebe's palace bespeak nothing grand or imposing; and from the ruins we should be led to suppose it had originally been neither noble nor spacious. He was not a man who cared much about his personal comforts, and was rather penurious in his expenditure of money. Constantly occupied by external war, and often disturbed by internal commotion, he had other matters to employ his time, and on which to expend his revenues, than on objects of pomp; and I have been informed that a great part of the money expended in the erection of the great mausoleum was supplied by Rabea herself.

It is necessary to offer a word or two on the

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once royal inhabitant of these dilapidated walls, Aurungzebe. He commenced his reign in the year of the flight (Hegira) 1068, or of the Christian era 1658, and died in the Hegira 1117, or A.D. 1707. In religious professions he was a thorough-paced hypocrite. He was niggardly to a proverb, but fond of splendor and show, which he made his nobles support, and to their forced contributions may be ascribed all the magnificence that appeared at the Moghul court, and which Bermier mentions with so much panegyric; nor has Dryden been forgetful of the splendid paraphernalia which then distinguished the royal court at Delhi and Agra; nay, even the facetious Mr. Hunt, of card-making memory, has not failed to hand down the likeness of the Great Moghul in his wrapper to his packs of cards*.

* Old Tom Coryat, who visited the Moghul court, and was residing there in the year 1615, and who visited Agra and afterwards Ajmére, thus speaks of the show and splendor of the menageries and court:

"He keepeth abundance of wilde beastes, and that of divers sorts; as lyons, elephants, leopards, beares, antlops, *unicornes;* whereof two have I seene at his court, the strongest beastes of the world. Twice every week elephants fight before the prince, the bravest spectacle in the world; many of them are thirteene foot and a halfe high, and they seeme to justle together like two mountains; and were they not parted in the midst of their fighting by certain fireworks, they would exceedingly gore and cruentate one another by their murdering teeth. Of elephants, the king keepeth thirtie thousand in his whole kingdom, at an unmeasurable charge, in feeding of whom, and his lyons and other

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Aurungzebe had many good qualities; he was attentive to business, watchful of the conduct of his officers, accessible to the complaints and petitions of his people; and, as far as the disorganized materials of which a Mahomedan government would permit, did all he could to alleviate the miseries of the people, and to introduce justice and mildness into the government of his provinces. He had none of those damning qualities so common in Mahomedan princes, who are generally dissipated, insatiably avaricious, boundless in extravagance, and immoderately addicted to women. To gratify and support these vices, they stick at no enormity or crime. Aurungzebe was an exception to these very common traits. He rose at break of day, bathed, and went to prayers at seven o'clock: at eleven he attended to public business in person, receiving appeals, and listening to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects: at four, dressed in the most gorgeous apparel, he showed himself to his people; then again went to prayers, and afterwards transacted public business with his great officers, when he did not fail to censure the conduct or dismiss from office those who had been guilty of malpractices. His hall of state, called

beastes, he spendeth an incredible masse of money, at the least tenne thousand pounds sterling a day. I have rid upon an elephant since I came to this court, determining one day (by God's leave) to have my picture expressed in my next booke sitting on an elephant."

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the hall of the forty pillars, was a most magnificent building. The rails which divided the courts were of pure gold, and the roof of the hall of silver; but out of this place, and with his family, Aurungzebe dressed in the plainest manner, lived on the plainest food, kept regular hours, and was, in his retirement, a philosopher and anchoret, but in his court a king, and in the field an active and intrepid soldier.

If a prince could be esteemed happy who had imprisoned his father and murdered his three brothers to secure his throne, that prince was Aurungzebe. He had one great redeeming quality worthy the notice of all princes,—an extreme consideration for his people, and attention to their wants and distresses. On any public calamity, in an insurrection, a failure in the rains, or destructive inundations, he not only remitted the local taxes, but largely contributed himself, and made his wealthy subjects do the same, to alleviate the calamity. Most of these particulars were gathered from a manuscript lent to me by Shah Sāfit; and on my asking him if he knew any English governor in political conduct like the deceased emperor, not only he but one or two more exclaimed, the "Most Excellent *Hastie Sahib** (Warren Hastings), the

* The natives have a singular knack of mutilating English names, thus, Mr. Elphinstone (*Elpee Sahib*), Mr. Jenkins (*Duncan Sahib*), Col. Llewelyn (*Noulan Sahib*), Major Staunton (*Estocking Sahib*), M'Intosh (*Mactose Sahib*), M'Morine (*Moaning Sahib*).

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wisest and best of governors." At this I thought that had my native friends possessed their desired free-press to have republished (with the comments of artful, ambitious, and clamorous demagogues appended), the splendid speeches of those great masters in the art of talking, Burke and Sheridan, what mischievous effects must have been produced among the turbulent and violent parties that then were in power in India. How it would surprise one acquainted with the history of that time, with the people and the country, to have supposed that such an eloquent and highly-talented man could have given utterance to the florid nonsense and absurd calumnies that Mr. Burke (and others) did on that occasion.

The state of the countries under Mahomedan rule is in similar unhappy circumstances to those under the Mahratta. Every public office is bought and sold, and nothing is done without bribery to accomplish their views. The great squeeze the poor, and each officer oppresses according to the means he may possess of aggrandizing himself and warding off scrutiny and danger from his superiors. This extends through every gradation of the public service. Lands are given in perpetuity for feudal and other services, and the lord and his officers, by every exaction and injurious proceeding, extort the last rupee from the suffering peasant. To whom can he appeal when every avenue is closed, and persons in power bribed? For this

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service, the Omrah (or noble) has to maintain a quota of troops and cattle: these are quartered upon the villages, often paid in produce, and sometimes are in arrear of two years. A licentious soldiery, quartered upon agricultural labour, is perhaps the greatest curse that can befall the husbandman. If to this we add, the frequent irruptions of neighbouring states, the unsettled and vexatious mode of collecting the revenue always with an armed force, occasionally a dearth, and the consequent monopolies of the rich, we shall not be surprised that a famine soon follows, an epidemic succeeds, and the wretched native has no hope to look to, no assistance to expect, but is left to perish like the beast of the field. What vices or defects the natives of India inherit are mainly attributable to the bad government under which they live, and the almost constant sufferings they endure.

Men possess various characters, as government, climate, and example, give the inclination. Did these people live in a cold climate, where the wants of men are greater, and their afflictions more severely felt, their existence would be insupportable; but in a fine climate like India, where a man sleeps in the open air on a mat, where his only drink is water, and his food pulse or grain; where wounds heal in a few hours*; in a country also

* I have seen a native woman, in the line of march, taken in travail, go to the side of a tank, deliver herself of her burthen,

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where bountiful nature supplies her richest gifts almost without tillage, the local afflictions are greatly lessened, and may be borne by a patient and cheerful people, who will bear any indignity or injury without complaint, save that of interfering in their religious prejudices or customs, touching their women, or hurting their children. But what we must greatly deplore is seeing fertile countries lying waste, and an ingenious, sober, and affectionate people in a state of misery and thraldom owing to the misrule of their native princes. But that my statements or opinions may not be supposed to arise from prejudice, or that I have an improper bias towards the British government, I will, as a commentary, submit to perusal two or three extracts from the correspondence in the Calcutta Journal, derived from persons at the stations whence they write.

"*Mhow*, April, 1822.—From the accounts I have received in passing through the country, it appears they (the troops) have only got four rupees a month for several years past. Concluding that the *Sirdars* had pocketed the remainder, they first gave some of them a good licking, and now mean to make up the balance at the expense of the *Mahujuns* and other wealthy inhabitants there."

"*Bilsah*, May 8, 1822.—The change of the country during the last three years appears quite miraculous. People now travel in perfect safety, the country is gradually getting into cultiva-

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and by the evening arrive on foot, with her infant, at the hutting ground of the corps as if nothing had happened.

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tion, and the hordes of thieves and robbers, with which it was formerly infested, have disappeared as if by enchantment. On my march here I often strolled into the villages, and in chatting with the inhabitants, it was most gratifying to my feelings as an Englishman to hear the gratitude they expressed to us for the happiness and security they now enjoy. They said, 'They could now reap the grain and graze the cattle in safety beyond the shot of the *Gurhee*.' This new order of things is not without its influence even in Scindia's country."

"*Oude*, Feb. 1823.—The whole of the king's native followers and retinue live on the produce grain of the land, almost totally free of personal expense, and every man one meets in Oudh nearly is '*Padshahka Nuokur*.' What is the nature of the finance, civil, military, and judicial departments in the province of Oudh? what number of people compose them, and what their receipt and emoluments? what natives are fed out of the royal treasure, and what are their several occupations and salaries? what public institutions exist in the country, and how supported? what is the salary and perquisite of Agameer, the minister, and what wealth has he amassed? what are his daily expenses, and what palace has he built, or is building? The true answers to these questions will in some degree account for the present state of the government of that misgoverned country, the most delightful, fertile, and rich in natural productions in Asia. The king we know is a most excellent man, but entirely in the hands of his favourite, his once common *khîtmutghar**, now become an oriental despot, who has engrossed the whole power of the state, legislative and executive, and rules the country with the functions of royalty. The origin of the misunderstanding between the king and heir apparent may be here hinted. The cries of the oppressed have

* *Mahujuns* (merchants); *sirdars* (officers); *gurhee* (fort); *padshahka nuokur* (king's servants); *naxim* (a deputy); *khîtmutghar* (menial servant). This will serve as a glossary to the above.

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reached the prince, who has listened to them, but he has not influence over his father sufficient to remove the cause."

And again the same writer observes:

"I was shocked at the melancholy sight of towns and villages falling to decay, the thinness of the population, of arable land, miles in extent, lying waste for want of hands to cultivate it."

The two first extracts relate to the Mahratta country, the latter to the Mahomedan territories. The passages are long, but I wish my countrymen to be confirmed in what I have advanced regarding the oppressions and wretchedness under which the natives of India groan, and to show how happy are the inhabitants of those provinces who have the *good fortune*, by cession or exchange of territory, to fall under the British Government.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Texts and References—Propagation of Christianity—Sentiments of Murrane Sing—Jews—Catholics—European Miracles—Protestants—British Missionaries—Anecdotes of Natives—Extracts—David—Unitarians—Native Opinions—Missionary Report.

"THAT thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations."—*Psalm* 67.

"Thou art about my path, and about my bed, and spiest out all my ways.

"For lo, there is not a word in my tongue, but thou, O Lord, knowest it altogether."—*Psalm* 139.

"Neither the Mosaical law nor the Christian religion could possibly have been *received* and *established* without such miracles as the sacred history contains."—*Whiston.*

"There is no book upon which we can rest in a dying moment but the Bible."—*Selden.*

"There are no songs comparable to the songs of Zion; no orations equal to those of the prophets; and no politics like those which the Scriptures teach."—*Milton.*

"There never was found in any age of the world either philosopher, or sect, or law, or discipline, which did so highly exalt the public good as the Christian faith."—*Lord Chancellor Bacon.*

"Young man, attend to the advice of one who has possessed some degree of fame in the world, and who will shortly appear before his Maker. Read the Bible every day of your life."—*Dr. S. Johnson, on his death-bed, to a friend.*

"Our curiosity is naturally prompted to inquire, by what means the Christian faith hath obtained so remarkable a victory over the established religions of the East? To this inquiry, an

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obvious and *satisfactory* answer may be returned, that it was owing to the *convincing* evidence of the doctrine itself, and the *ruling* providence of its great Author."—*Gibbon.*

" It has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter."—*Locke.*

" Mussulmans are already a sort of heterodox Christians, because they believe firmly the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the Messiah: but they are heterodox; they deny firmly his character of Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whose unity and attributes they have the most awful ideas."—*Ibid.*

" It has now come to light, that the generally received opinion of the Hindoos being polytheists has no foundation in truth; for although their tenets admit propositions that are difficult to be defended, yet that they are worshippers of God, and only one God, are incontrovertible truths."—*Abul Fazil's Ayin Akbery*, 3d vol.

" They pretend to be free-thinkers, who are almost always unsteady characters. The affectation of irreligion is, independently of its foolish impiety, always the mark of a bad taste."—*Memoirs of Prince Eugene.*

" I cannot but grieve that the means employed are so inadequate to the end proposed; and whether, as happens in the physical world, doing little and unskilfully in a deep-rooted disorder be worse than leaving Nature to her own quiet operations, is to me doubtful."—*Mrs. Graham's Letters on India.*

" It seems extraordinary that while the pious zeal of many worthy persons for the conversion of the Hindoos should have induced them to send missionaries to India, where no rational hopes can be entertained of success, and where nothing but mischief is likely to follow the attempt, Ceylon should have been overlooked, where complete success might fairly be expected."—*Lord Valentia* (*Earl of Mount Norris*) vol. i. p. 308.

" Without meaning to give offence, I should really deem any one who could seriously propose such a thing (coercion) more becomingly, as more safely, arrayed in a strait-waistcoat than in

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a surplice; better qualified for Bedlam than the pulpit. It would induce me to dispose of my India stock, and to recall my property thence."—*Major E. Moor.*

"*Now Christ* has *invaded* Bengal, to *allure* Satan's soldiers to desert their general."—*Baptist Missionary Register.*

"Britain expends her best *blood* and treasures to convert the heathen."—*Mr. Ward's Address to Missions.*

"*God* has given *me* of late a greater concern for the salvation of the heathen, and I have been *enabled* to make it a more importunate *request* to the *Throne* of *Grace*."—*Dr. Carey.*

"In twenty-four years, with the assistance of a native missionary, my converts amount to between two and three hundred of both sexes, two-thirds are *pariahs* (outcastes), the rest are Sudras (the lowest and vilest caste)."—*Abbé Dubois.* With shame and confusion, the Abbé declares, he does not remember any one who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction, and through quite *disinterested* motives.

"The obstacles which stand in the way of the general diffusion of the Gospel, arising from caste, and other established customs and superstitions, are certainly very great, and, *humanly* speaking, *insurmountable;* but when the Lord of Hosts shall arise, what shall stand before Him?"—*Church Missionary Report,* 1823.

The foregoing texts and opinions, gathered from various sources, have been inserted for the purpose of serving as commentaries or references to the subject of "Converting the natives of India to the Christian faith."

The first extracts will, I hope and believe, prove the unshaken fidelity of my own belief. Of the Bible no man can speak too highly; and the closing remarks are given for no other reason than that of showing the opinions of others on the first esta-

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blishment of the Gospel, and the probability of its being permanently or successfully planted in India. The intention of these few pages will be to afford an open, consistent, and unprejudiced view of the question, both as regards the natives of India, and those who have voluntarily become their teachers. It was partly the topic of conversation among a party of eight highly respectable Hindoos and Mussulmans I met by appointment in the garden-house of the venerable Shah Sāfit; the mildness of whose manners, and the total absence of all bigotry in his conversation, rendered him not only a pleasing but an instructive friend.

Upon my mentioning the well-known name of Swartz, the company said that no *real* converts had ever been made; that those who had professed Christianity were men who had lost their caste for crime, or some abomination, and they were glad to become Christians; or that those who were in the very degraded ranks (the Sudra), having nothing to lose by the change, born polluted, and always avoided by the other ranks, would wish to assume another character, and that was always attainable by their becoming Christians: but, even with this wretched people, our success, dishonourable as the converts were, was very trifling; and many, finding that nothing was to be gained by the change, and that the promises* held out

* I was travelling in a district near Purneah, where the cho-

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to them had not been fulfilled, had relapsed into their former state. "Why," exclaimed Murrane Sing (a Hindoo who was present, and who could read English), "do you not convert the Jews, who live among you, know your virtues, and the excellence of your faith, and whose forefathers knew of the prophesies, and saw the wonders mentioned in your Vedas?" I replied, that they were a stubborn race, and the denunciations against their race had been fulfilled; and I instanced the occasions and times. "That is the more in favour of my argument," replied Murrane; "for if, under the sufferings they have endured, and the accomplishment of the curses threatened them, they still remain obstinate and sinful, how are we to be convinced, much less converted, who know nothing of these signs and wonders of which you speak, and have neither had promises nor threats held out to us, except by *mortals* like ourselves, who may or may not intend well? at least, they have nothing to show us to the contrary but *windy words*." He then referred to Paul, who, he observed, undoubtedly was a prophet, and one whose mission appeared very probable, had made no effect on King

lera was raging, and some of the natives, who had been promised many temporal advantages by adopting the new faith, were greatly exasperated at finding the promise not fulfilled; but that, in lieu thereof, to use their own words, a heavy calamity had visited them.

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Agrippa*, who was as civilized as the Hindoos; yet he was not to be persuaded, even though one of the principal propagators of it was present before him: "then how," he added, "am I to be persuaded by those who are neither saints nor prophets?"

I shall compress the observations and replies in as brief a space as possible; and if any thing objectionable should appear, I beg it not to be understood as the offspring of my own mind. I will speak with the honesty of a man, the straightforward candour of a soldier, and, I devoutly trust, with the unaffected piety of an unwavering Christian; but I should deceive others, and falsify my own character to fidelity, did I not, on this momentous question, give the opinions and reasons of respectable and sensible natives; because it is only from these, aided by local knowledge, and an intimate acquaintance with the native character, that the public can arrive at a true and faithful account of the chance of success, and of the disposition of the people of India to receive the Gospel, and become disciples to its doctrines.

The conversation now reverted to Catholics (Catholas), and I was asked by one, possessing much information, why those persons who were British, but of that faith, did not adopt the Protestant creed? I replied, that they were Chris-

* Acts, chap. xxvii. ver. 28. "Then king Agrippa said unto Paul, *Almost* thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

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tians, though some difference existed in the forms of worship. Here my theological reasoning was again set at nought. The Hindoo replied, that the Catholics did not permit the reading of the Bible, for reasons which he well knew; that they worshipped images, which our Scriptures forbid; that they had pilgrimages like the Hindoos, and holy water; but, what was more than all, they had in their history mortal men, who sinfully presumed to have performed miracles which belonged alone to the only God Bhagavān! Here he drew his sleeve over his mouth, and made three low reverences; and then exclaimed aloud, "Forgive me, forgive me, forgive me, for the crime of repeating His holy name! Now sir," said he, "which is best: we poor Hindoos, who have *not* been taught other things from on high, or your people, who have, but still disregard them?" Of course I did not think it necessary to remind him of our Lady of Loretto, and the liquefactions of St. Januarius' blood, nor of our burnings in Smithfield; neither was I then informed of the miracles of Prince Hohenlohe, nor had I heard that the waters of the Jordan were held as sacred by M. Chateaubriand as the Hindoos hold those of the Ganges. At that time, too, the worthy matron, Joanna Southcote, was unknown. I had no inclination, either, to revert to daily acts of fanaticism, or to the many *gross* superstitions prevalent in many parts of England; of the sale of

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children's cauls*, &c.; nor had I the impudence to tell him, that I could tell his character and disposition by examining his skull!

Indeed, it was unnecessary to remind him of our superstitions and absurdities; for he slily rejoined, "Now, my young friend, *you*, who are *Protestants*—why do you not perform your worship duly and zealously? The nearest temple you have is at Bombay. No, sir! I speak it in humility, you care little about your *own* religion; come to India with a box of clothes, take home a box full of money, and think you do a very meritorious act in subscribing a few rupees to convert *us*, and bring us to salvation, though apparently regardless of your own. This," he continued, "is very pious and very generous; but, believe me, before we give up the faith of our forefathers, a religion much older than yours, we must see you fulfil the doctrines it inculcates, and observe its ordinances; neither must you wonder if we require signs and wonders to convince us. But who are the persons sent out, and by whom? Are they men of great learning, great science, and great abilities? I have heard not; and further, that your government (Sircar), and the bishops (Burra Padrees), do not generally support the attempted reformation. Is this true, sir?" I

* In the Times newspaper of the 6th of October, no less than *three* Cauls are for *sale*; one at the moderate price of twenty guineas!!!

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replied, there was some difference of opinion existing in England on the subject. "Then," rejoined the Hindoo, "if that difference in opinion exists among Christians themselves, you may be assured there is none with us. Our lives are moral, the Almighty blesses us as he does you; our Scriptures* contain an excellent moral code; and we are taught to be virtuous and good; we rigidly act up to our faith, and are neither hypocrites, nor deceivers, nor tyrants; but are good men, and to you, sir, good subjects." In short, I possessed but a superficial knowledge of doctrinal points, and had to contend with learned, subtle, and able polemics,—men armed at all points, and men whom, I will take upon myself to say, are inferior to few in controversial discussion, or in metaphysical knowledge.

The generality of missionaries sent to India have not the smallest chance of success with the learned natives of India. With the Bible in his hand†, and abundance of zeal, the missionary

* "We find a code of extensive laws, founded on justice and liberality in general; nevertheless, a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to sentient creatures, pervades the whole work: the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe for the sentiments of independence on all things but God."—*Sir W. Jones on the Gayatri, or Mother of the Vedas, or Scriptures.*

† The persons sent out to India, instead of being young and inexperienced, although zealous teachers, should be men of

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stalks forth into fields and villages, expecting that his well-meaning exhortations, and the pious example he sets, is to convert the heathen. Nothing can be more fallacious. The success of the missionary cause I have at heart; and a respect to the clerical character will always induce me to view their endeavours in the best light; but at the same time, if in my power, it becomes me to point out what I consider as defective in their proceedings; and it is right to discuss these matters in a mild temper, for nothing is to be gained by anger or vituperation, which at all times are only productive of discord and hostility.

The idea of a missionary haranguing a mob in a village or field to make proselytes, is about one of the worst modes of teaching or converting that possibly could be adopted. The natives will collect and listen: so would they to any stranger, on any other subject, for they possess great curiosity and good-nature. They will receive tracts or pamphlets with thanks: so they would any other printed paper, for they are polite and inquisitive. But is it to be inferred, from listening to the one, or receiving the other, that they are an iota nearer to Christianity? They are great idlers, and would,

scientific acquirements, deeply learned, clever, and powerful at argument. Great piety, and enthusiasm, are secondary considerations: superior talent, mental courage, and a conciliating disposition, alone will succeed with the higher orders: subdue them first, and the people may follow; but never without.

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for the sake of gossiping, of which they are immoderately fond, run after, visit, and listen to a missionary; but as to what they have heard, or what they may have received, it has as much effect upon their minds as the passing breeze. They are, as before observed, polite and decorous in their behaviour to strangers; they will make professions, for they are adepts at dissimulation, and perfect at flattery. I have seen a Hindoo most devoutly listen to a discourse, beg a tract, and, on his return to the village, leave it on the threshold of the door of the temple, and fall down with his forehead on the floor, and worship the image of that ugly fellow Ganesa! On my expostulating once on this impropriety with a convert, he replied, "My father did the same, and he was more prosperous than I am. The hopes and promises held out to me by the Padree (clergyman) have not been fulfilled; and one of your Burra Sāhibs (great men) has lately broken a commandment (alluding to a *crim. con.* just taken place, happily an event of rare occurrence in India); so why may not I? Besides which," he added, "Ganesa is offended with me; and I will both pray to Ganesa and listen to the Padree!"

There is little or no honour in the few that have been converted. By far the greater part are of the very dregs of the people, who, having by some misdemeanor lost their rank in society, or been born in a degraded and abject state, become

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Christians, by which they fancy they are entitled to many good things; and they well know, that, in quitting their original caste, they cannot change for the worse—so they "profess and call themselves:" but about the obligations of Christianity, and the duties imposed by it, they are as ignorant as the wild ass. I recollect once a Siphauee being flogged and drummed out of the corps for theft: one of his former companions, young in the service, and under a mistaken notion regarding corporeal punishment, observed to him, "You have now lost your caste." "Have I?" replied the other; "then I can always turn Christian." But even among the lower orders, considering our fifty millions of subjects, the vast sums expended*, and the number of years of trial, the calculation

* "We have carefully read the last Report of the Church Missionary Society, and yet we are really unable to form any accurate calculation of the number of their converts; all that we learn is, that they expended upwards of 30,000*l.* between April, 1819, and April, 1820; that they have two hundred labourers distributed among eight missions; that in these different missions between 9,000 and 10,000 children are educated, and many thousand adults hear the "glad tidings of salvation;" and of these many hundreds make a creditable profession of Christianity. The vagueness of this statement, added to the fact of there having been twenty converts only made at one of their stations in four years, and of these all relapsing but *one*, is a sufficient proof both of limited success, and of a material and inherent defect in their regulations, and in the application of their resources."—*Quarterly Review*, No. 25.

I likewise subjoin, from another periodical work (Monthly

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will not afford fifties for millions, take the whole of Hindoostan into the estimate. A solitary exception may be found of an ambitious or eccentric native of rank, from vanity or a desire of popularity, becoming a proselyte, as in the case of Ram Mohun Rāj; but who, after all his profession, has embraced the doctrine of Unitarianism. And how many there are who, after being converted, have

Magazine) of 1823, the sums subscribed in the preceding year in the cause of Christianity and religious instruction:

	£	s.	d.
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge..	53,729	9	3
Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.....	19,513	11	0
British and Foreign Bible Society	103,802	17	1
British and Foreign School Society (about)..	1,600	0	0
Church Missionary Society.....	32,975	9	7
Wesleyan ditto.....	26,883	5	5
London ditto	29,437	13	4
Moravian ditto.....	7,192	18	5
Naval and Military Bible Society	2,040	4	2
Society for the Conversion of the Jews	10,689	13	9
Hibernian Society	5,372	5	6
Religious Tract Societies	9,261	3	0
Church of England Tract Society	514	11	10
Society for the Relief of poor pious Clergymen	2,219	0	5
Continental Society.....	1,074	12	6
London Female Penitentiary	4,075	19	0
African Institution	1,124	0	0
Sunday School Society for Ireland.....	3,193	6	6
Hibernian Bible Society	5,679	11	10
Prayer Book and Homily Society	2,056	15	8
Irish Religious Book and Tract Society.....	3,943	0	0
Sunday School Union Society.....	1,762	4	5

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relapsed into their former faith, the missionary papers do not mention; but, to my certain knowledge, it is of frequent occurrence.

It is much to be deplored that the Registers are not more specific on this head, instead of dealing in vague and general reports, chiefly extracts from the correspondence of the missionaries themselves. These zealous and pious men doubtless use their best endeavours in their calling; but, having been an old adjutant and military secretary, I am partial to regular and official returns; as "Present—Where stationed—Absent—How employed," &c. These are the data on which to go; and the various Christian societies would find it not only a pleasing duty, but advantageous to their interests, to make distinct and particular statements, authenticated by a superior or visiting clergyman. I have, since my return to England, been questioned on the subject, and have remarked, that the schools are doing much good—that the exertions of the missionaries have been instrumental in calling attention to the sanguinary code of the Hindoos—that the lives and habits of the missionaries are exemplary, and that they left no stone unturned to propagate the Christian faith; but, as to particulars, I must refer them to the periodical statements. There however, it appears, the required information was not to be obtained.

But, to return to our conversation at Shah Sāfit's, no one point could I gain with either Mussulman

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or Hindoo. One of the former said, our throwing water on the face of an infant, without which ceremony it could not be a Christian, and the consecration of ground, for religious purposes, by sprinkling holy water over it, were as ridiculous as any thing the Hindoos did; and as to the sacrifice of the Hindoo, did not our Korān contain a code of sacrifices, and enjoin blood-offerings? He here stopped, perceiving his Hindoo auditors were getting fidgety, and the blood quitting their cheeks at the mention of a book being recommended to them that enjoined the sacrifice of *bullocks* and heifers. A silence of some minutes ensued, when I asked them, Did not they think the Psalms of David (Daood) were beautiful compositions? They, one and all, replied, "Very fine indeed; but look at the morality of the man, the seduction of Bathsheba, and the murder of her innocent husband: and did not the son of David go to his own sister? And does not the Korān (Bible), which the English so much exalt, abound with incests, fratricides, scoffings at Bhagavān, defilements and murders, burnings, and plunders *? I suppose," he continued, "it is these circum-

* "The Jesuits certainly contrived to manage these matters better, and cautiously abstained from translating such portions of the Scriptures as they knew would be injurious to their cause. Some of their translations are still extant, and are read and esteemed among the Brahmans as classical works."—*Quarterly Review on Sir John Malcolm's Memoir of Central India.*

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stances which cause so many sects and so much schism in your church. One of your own sects, and tolerated by you, and with whom you live on terms of friendship, go further than our Mahomedans do—for they deny the divinity of Christ. With such an example among yourselves, and the scepticism known to be prevalent in the minds of many of your own wise and learned men, how is it possible *we* should receive the doctrines you wish without opposition, and, at the same time, a thorough conviction of the fallibility of what your Padrees propose."

Of Christ's Sermon on the Mount they spoke in terms of the highest panegyric; and a Moollah, who was present, had a manuscript copy of it. Many other topics were discussed, too numerous and unimportant to be introduced here. Of observations made by the company on the ceremony of the Sacrament I dare not give a report; but they looked upon wine as an abomination, and referred to the frequent mention of it in the Scriptures. I took great pains, on the spot, to preserve the heads of our conversation in a faithful and perspicuous form, by making notes of the whole immediately after the conference was over: but I can assure the reader, that, in other and separate conversations with natives, the same objections have been raised, and the same opinions uttered, as those of which I have now given a brief outline.

I should consider myself guilty of great dissimu-

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lation and dishonour did I not repeat with fidelity the ideas of the superior orders of the natives; for, till those persons are perfectly and radically converted *, there is as little probability or possibility of the inferior orders following, as there is of the disciples of St. Peter at Rome giving up the Roman Catholic faith. Far easier would be the task of converting the multitude in England to any particular faith than the Hindoos. No people in the world have such deep-rooted and inveterate prejudices as them; and never were a people, whose conversion was attempted, ever attacked with weaker weapons, or more unfit assailants, than those employed at the present day.

* *Madras*, 1819.—*Report of Mission Society*.

"It will no doubt be expected, that at the expiration of nearly four years, during a great part of which the missionaries have continued in active prosecution of the society's objects, some palpable fruits of their labours should be produced, in instances of actual conversion and the baptism of heathens. During this time, about twenty of such have been admitted catechumens, and commenced a course of preparatory instruction, the period of which was also intended as a trial of their sincerity. Only one individual, of the whole number, has abided this test: he was baptized in the month of September last, and continues, by his good conduct, to confirm the hopes with which he was baptized. The rest have given but too great reason to believe, that, not the salvation of their souls, but the advancement of their worldly interest, was their object, by declining their profession when they found that object was not likely to be realized."

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CHAPTER XXI.

Missionary Schools—Plan suggested by the Author—Moonshees—Colleges and Churches—East India Company—Chaplains—Civil and Military Stations—Defective System—Dangers—Sir John Malcolm.

THE well-intentioned, but ill-advised measures pursued towards making proselytes of Mussulmans and Hindoos, cannot by those who *really* wish well to Christianity be too much deplored. One would suppose that the attempt was against persons easily to be moved, or already half professing the Protestant faith; or that they were the savages of New Zealand, or the negroes of Africa, who, being in a state of brutal ignorance, may be moulded into any form by promises and mild measures. I do not know where it is observed, but never were lines more applicable, as regards the Hindoos, than the following:

"Men must be taught as though you taught them not;
And things proposed to them as things forgot."

Educating the children, the diffusion of scientific knowledge, and interesting literary subjects, will direct the mind of the inquisitive native to inquiry;

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and the more knowledge he attains, the more will he be likely to be convinced of the absurdities of his own creed, and of the abominations in their code. With an enlarged and improved mind, it is not likely he will revert to former opinions or practices; and those who in their childhood have been taught (if kept from their parents and intercourse with idolators) the true worship, with the means of comprehending it, will go on improving till they become at last firm believers, and zealous in the dissemination of that knowledge and instruction which they themselves have imbibed in their youth.

To accomplish this end, the children must be kept from their parents and connexions, and their fidelity may in some measure be relied on; but we are not to assume that because 10,000 children receive instruction they are all to become converts, any more than if a Frenchman was gratuitously to go into an English village and teach the children, and instruct them in their prayers, that they would become Catholics, or that their parents would permit it. Nor are we to suppose, that in the aforementioned number of children, all are the offspring of heathens. A great number are the children of Europeans, by native women (Pariahs); and, of course, the mother having lost her caste, and the father being a professor of the Christian faith, it naturally follows, that the child should be brought up in the same faith. But of the general utility

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of these schools I have no very great opinion; not but that they do much good, but it is beginning at the wrong end.

I would ask the well-disposed and well-informed mind*, if the conversion of a hundred millions of people is probable or possible by the instruction of, comparatively speaking, a very few children? I think, if we wanted to bring about a revolution in any country, in the religion, morals, and manners of a people, we should begin with the adults —with the learned—with the rich and powerful—male and female; and not with a few children, in all cases the offspring of the very lower orders. There, in my humble opinion, the missionary system is constitutionally defective. Educate by all means, but at the same time pursue higher and nobler objects. Having had the temerity, natural perhaps to an untutored and blundering soldier, of speaking of defects, I ought in justice to suggest how they may probably be remedied and improved; and, when thus reformed, show how they may be made productive of good.

* Eighty millions may be the estimate of those over whom we rule; but with our allies one hundred millions of people do not, I am confident, exceed the number.

It is calculated that the British have in India 553,000 square miles. Our allies and tributaries rule over 38,500,000 people, with 523,000 square miles. The independent states at about 13,000,000 of people. Our numerical strength in India, including King's Regiments, does not I think exceed 45,000.

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I would, with great deference to more zealous and competent judges, humbly recommend the establishment of a college in this country for the reception and literary instruction of the missionaries proceeding to their labours in the East. The expense would not be great in bringing from India four learned Moonshees, who, I am convinced, would not only render the missionaries perfect masters of the native languages, but initiate them into oriental literature and science, and give them much valuable information regarding the country and people. During the five months' voyage out, the time of the missionaries might be profitably employed in cultivating what they had acquired from the native teachers at home, and they would go to the scene of action qualified and prepared, and would be more fit to cope with the Brahmans and Pundits, Vakeels and Moollahs*, than the inexperienced, untaught, young, and sanguine missionary, sent out according to the present system; who often, I regret, from over-zeal, acts both with rashness and imprudence, forgetting that conciliation is far better than angry reproof, or anathema-

* *Moonshees*, learned men; teachers and secretaries.
Pundits, learned Brahmans; often men of great literary talents.
Moollahs, expounders of the law and of divinity.
Vakeels, literary men; lawyers or agents.
I submitted the above in an official but more enlarged form, last November, to the Church Missionary Society; but receiving no answer whatever, have said no more on the subject.

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tising the men as immoral and dishonest, and the women as foolish and unchaste.

A Moonshee from India would gladly come home for 150*l.* per annum, or less. I would recommend, for Bengal, a Persian and Bengalee teacher; for Madras, a Tamul and Teloogoo teacher; for Bombay, a Hindoostanee and Mahratta teacher. Of course, this suggestion of a college is susceptible of great improvement, and ought to be modified into a very useful establishment. The East India Company have or had an establishment of Moonshees in England, whence the necessary information might be obtained. I would further propose, that there should be appointed a Superintendant of missions and missionary concerns in India; a *visiting* superior, *to* whom and through whom all communications should be made, to reside at Calcutta. This person ought to be independent of all, except the Parent Society at home, or of the Lord Bishop, and ought to be a person eminently distinguished by attainments, by knowledge, and by experience; in short, in every point eminently fitted for controlling the affairs and enforcing the regulations of the Society; and, by a vigorous line of conduct, superintending every branch of the missionary government. The next thing to be considered and recommended is the establishment of three colleges (in addition to the one at Calcutta); one at Benares, the very seat of Hindoo learning

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and superstition; another at Hyderabad, the capital of a Mussulman prince (the Nizam), a central situation, and forming, with Bombay, on the western side of India, an unbroken chain through the heart of India, with the head-quarters at Calcutta. At these colleges an extensive and liberal system of education should be pursued. The novelty of the institution would bring students, and the acquirement of science would dispel the clouds of darkness: they would, in the course of time, feel a disgust for that which they had formerly venerated, and they would imperceptibly become Christians in proportion as they lost remembrance of their absurd and monstrous dogmas. The beauties of Christianity would, without their *perceiving* it, usurp the place where dismal superstition and revolting heathenism had once held firm sway. Boys who showed talents and quick parts, and who were orphans, might be sent to perfect themselves in the higher branches of learning and sciences, and afterwards be sent abroad, not to preach but to teach others. A very small monthly stipend might be given them, and the rest must depend on their own individual merit and exertions.

I will answer for it, these native teachers would find their way into the families of the great, where the missionary stands as little chance of being admitted as I do at Carlton House. In these families the impression they would make, the inquiry that

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would be elicited, and the pleasing studies taught, would do more good in awakening their minds and convincing them of their errors, and eventually bringing them to the light of reason, than the efforts of a battalion of missionaries, with a cart-load of sermons and tracts in their rear. Preferment in professorships or scholarships, and the monthly allowance to the tutors, would secure their fidelity, and ensure a zealous discharge of the duties assigned them.

But now, what are the measures pursued?—all preaching, exhortation, and reprobating; the first the natives do not understand, the second they care nothing about, and the last irritates them. If the teachers alluded to possess, in addition to scientific acquirements, the talent of preaching and expounding the Scriptures, it is desirable; nor should they neglect inculcating, in a mild and conciliating way, on favourable opportunities, the doctrines of the Protestant Church. One more suggestion, and I have done*. I think if a few chapels were erected at the principal stations, under the spiritual care of a church missionary, much good would result, not

* As it may be thought that my observations are derived from only serving at Bombay, it is necessary to explain, that I have served in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in Gangetic India; have been on duty in the Carnatic, Mysore, and Soonda countries, subordinate to Madras; and on the western side of India I have been stationed in Malabar, in the Deccan, and in Guzerat. I have also been employed by a native prince in Berar.

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only to Europeans, but the example it would set to the natives; and those disposed to adopt Christianity, or connected with the colleges, would have a place of worship to go to: these chapels might be built at an expense not exceeding 100*l.*; and I am inclined to think, at the large stations, or at the residences, that that sum, or a greater, would be easily raised by local subscriptions. It is not to be expected, nor is it possible indeed, for the East India Company to supply Chaplains to all the stations, where, perhaps, the British Society does not exceed thirty or forty persons—often not so many. It is not so much the large income given to a Company's chaplain that would be the burthen complained of, as his retiring pension after fifteen years' service*, when he becomes a dead weight on the state. I have but little doubt that the Company (under certain and *necessary* restrictions) would place no obstacles in the way, and that the British residents at the civil and military stations would further the undertaking by subscriptions and monthly donations; for, if the missionaries appointed were gentlemanly and well educated persons, there would be but little doubt of their meeting with kind and liberal treatment, always keeping in view the main question, viz. conversion of the heathen,

* If from sickness obliged to return to England, after 10 years, he is entitled to the half-pay of a major; after seven years, half-pay of a captain.

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and attending to the small schools; to this latter and very material point his leisure hours would be solely devoted.

Of the present missionary system I do not hesitate to avow my unqualified dissent; and further to state, that with "all appliances to boot," the perfect conversion of the heathen is not only exceedingly improbable, but if practicable, it is very remote; and when it is accomplished, it will be the chief cause of ousting us out of the country. In a vast empire like Hindoostan, where we hold our sway by the sheer good opinion of the people, the most trifling innovation is attended and fraught with danger*.

In a country where the vast population is composed of the most inflammable materials, and a people so very tenacious in their customs, and inflexible in their religious opinions, any sudden or any great change proposed cannot be viewed with too much caution, or watched with too much anxiety. One of the ablest and most enlightened of the Company's military officers, Sir John Malcolm, thus expresses himself: "It is our duty to

* Any interference of authority for the conversion of the natives might be construed into an attack on their faith, and jealousies of this sort once excited might shake our empire to its very foundation. It is clear that, in the present circumstances of our Indian empire, *any* display of missionary zeal by its *rulers* would be highly dangerous."—*Edinburgh Review.*

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diffuse knowledge and truth; but it is also our most *imperative* duty to exercise our best judgment *as to the mode* in which blessings shall be diffused, to render them beneficial."

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CHAPTER XXII.

Hindoo Penances—Infanticide—Gangā Saugar—Ganges—Ireland—Parliament—Mahomedans—Brahman Subadar—Judicial Oaths—Suttees—Menu—Suttees continued—Religious Tracts—Jugger Naut—Petition—Sea-ports—Festivals—Eclectic Review—Arabs.

MUCH has been said at home, and a good deal of it for the sole purpose of inflaming the public mind, regarding the horrid rites and sacrifices practised by the Hindoos. Much of this is exaggerated; some of it is utterly false; and some of it, I regret to say, is but too true. I have seen Jagernaut's ponderous car; have seen a Hindoo swinging by his heels from the bough of a tree to and fro over a slow fire; another with the nails of his fingers growing through the palms of the hands; another with his arm in an erect posture, the muscles of which were so stiff that he could not bring it down; a fourth measuring his length, crawling on his belly, for a hundred miles of journey; another with an iron pin run through his tongue, so that he could not draw it in; another penitent (a fakeer, for they are sometimes in both characters) hopping away on one leg, while the other, being drawn up, had become contracted and useless; but these austerities and penances are mere bagatelles—

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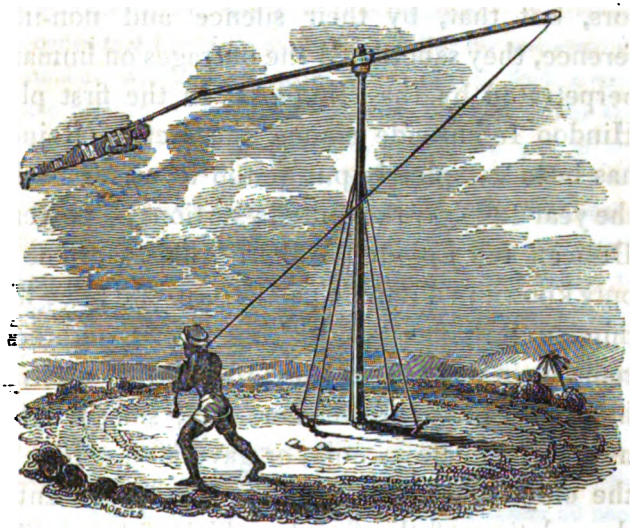
"The greater the stripes, the greater the saint."

Swinging for caste (*churuku*), however satisfactory it may be to the apostate or defiled, who thus reclaims his forfeited honour and rank, does not appear a very pleasing mode of cutting capers, with two large hooks through the flesh of his back, in the air; it is, however, a voluntary act, and no one suffers any pain but the aspirant. The punishment or penance is performed thus: in swinging, the man describes a circle of about thirty-five feet in diameter; the self-infliction is in honour of Māhā Cāli, and lasts upwards of half an hour.



It has been confidently asserted that the Mahomedan governments did not tolerate the Hindoo

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sacrifices we do: this I must deny; for the Mahomedans never interfered, but allowed their Hindoo subjects to perform their rites and ceremonies in their own way. If my word is doubted, the reader can refer to the papers laid before the House of Commons on the subject of Suttees.

Much excitement has been given to the public mind in England by misrepresentations and insinuations against the East India Company and the local governments, for not preventing the Hindoos from performing their sanguinary rites; so that a casual observer would suppose the government not only looked on as unconcerned spectators, but that, by their silence and non-interference, they sanctioned the outrages on humanity perpetrated by the Hindoos. In the first place, Hindoo Infanticide among the sect of Rajpoots has been completely put a stop to as far back as the year 1808, by the united exertions of Governor Duncan and Colonel Walker. This sacrifice was only known in a remote part of Guzerat; the high-minded Rajpoots not wishing their daughters to remain single, and still less to contract marriages in a lower grade of the same sect, smothered the new-born female in milk, or gave it an opium pill: the only object in the murder was to prevent the degradation of the female, which either celibacy or an inferior alliance would inflict. No people are more affectionate, generous, and proud, than the Rajpoots; but in the numerous divisions of

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hat large caste, the crime was unpractised by the najority.

Circumstances connected with our administra-ion in India and the state of society in that country ire so misunderstood and frequently *wilfully* mis-epresented, that it becomes a duty to set people ight in their judgments. Lord Valentia has the ollowing passage in his interesting Travels, vol. i. page 363. In speaking of the Rajah of Tanjore his Lordship says—

" It is singular that a man educated among Christians, with an *excellent* understanding, should be a slave to the Hindoo superstition; yet the Brahmins have not apparently a more strict follower than the Rajah, though in every thing else a man of liberal sentiments, and even more than indulgent to the Danish Missionaries that live in his country, extending his protection to the Catholics, who have nominally, added to their flock, a considerable number of the lowest order of Hindoos. After the observations that I have been obliged, in a former part of my work, to make on the Missionaries, it would be uncandid in me not to report the very favourable character which was given of the gentlemen of the Danish mission, and of their flock, by Captain Blackburn. He assured me that their conduct does honour to the Christian name, and that they live in perfect peace with the Heathens around them. So *little*, however, has been their success in conversion, though labouring with every advantage, that the hope of succeeding among other Missionaries must be very small indeed. Here their schools are *allowed* by the Rajah; and the one that was under the immediate protection of his old tutor, Mr. Schwartz, where he educated and *maintained* 50 poor children, has been *continued* at his Highness's own expense. Is it possible that *more* than *this* can be done to give Christianity a fair chance in India? Yet, how *few* have been the number of the converted!"

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I have served in a corps where three-fourths were Rajpoots, and infanticide was not only never committed, but was strongly reprobated. I have been in those parts of Guzerat, where some of the old families, possessing romantic notions of honour and courage on their own estates, nad, at the recommendation of our government, backed by the interposition of some of the leading Rajpoot families in other parts of India, entirely given up the practice of infanticide.

The custom, prevalent in many parts of India, of punishing accused sorcerers by death, has been abolished by the interference of the British government. This was a matter of easy accomplishment, as the mass of the natives felt little or no interest in the police measures adopted on this subject.

The sacrifice of children as an offering to the goddess Māhā Cāli (Parvati), at Ganga Saugar, was likewise put a stop to by the government; for as the sacred spot on which these murders were committed was *bonâ fide* the East India Company's own soil, guards were placed to prevent the sacrifices; and though an enormous sum of money and much entreaty were offered to purchase the spot (intrinsically worth little or nothing) by some wealthy natives, the place was for ever closed against the barbarities that from time immemorial had been there practised. This regulation was enforced in 1820.

Another mode pursued by the Hindoos to reach

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the regions of bliss has, as far as practicable, been put an end to: I allude to the custom of persons in a dying state requesting to be carried to the banks of the Ganges, and desiring to remain there till the waters of the sacred stream, or probably some alligator or tiger, should put an end to their mortal sufferings; and though but little doubt exists that in some cases greedy relatives and expectants hastened the fate of the victim, and by impressing on his superstitious mind the meritorious act, and the salvation which would infallibly accrue to his soul by the immolation, yet I know, in four cases out of five it was a voluntary act, devoutly embraced by the dying penitent. As the government saw there *was an opening* for suspicion of unfair means being used, they with great humanity and address availed themselves of the practicable opportunity by declaring it "murder for any one to aid or abet in such sacrifices;" but a direct confirmation of the above is afforded by the Missionary Register for January 1824, page 49: "The self-murder frequently practised at this place by the wretched devotees drowning themselves in the river Jumna, was put a stop to by the judge issuing an order, that any person found assisting to drown another should be taken up for murder. This had the desired effect; the multitude collected together on the occasion dispersed without the least disturbance."—*Allahabad*, 1823*.

* A spot held very sacred by the Hindoo, both as a *Tirt-hee* (or pilgrimage), and for their sacrifices at the junction of the

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As far as the government can with *prudence* or *safety* interfere, they do; but I have sometimes trembled for the consequences attendant upon interruption; and those who have seen the vast assemblage of infuriated devils, of excited and fanatical mobs in the interior of India, kept in awe only by their *own countrymen and fellow disciples,* the native Siphauees*; when perhaps in the *whole* province not a *dozen* British officers were present to manage and control popular feeling, will participate in my sentiments, and admit the great mischief that would undoubtedly result from any, even the mildest, interferences with their deep-rooted and established prejudices, unless there is some opening or plausible motive to lay hold of.

Neither the local authorities nor the government are remiss in the cause of humanity and religion; but there is a line to be drawn, beyond which you cannot go. If you have the temerity, or rather madness, to overstep it, those only who *practically* know India can appreciate the horrors and destruction which would ensue.

In Great Britain religious instruction is required,

Ganges and *Jumna* rivers, and called, in old Hindoo books, *Pyag*, and by Mahomedans *Allahabad*—City of God.

* At the great festival at Hurdwar more than 300,000 persons have been known to be assembled there in the highest state of fanatical excitement; most of whom, in the moment of religious frenzy, would think it an honour and a blessing to sacrifice themselves, and all and every thing that was opposed to their wishes, or interrupted their ceremonies and zeal.

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and the labours of missionaries would be directed to an object worthy of their attention, and promising success. I am borne out in the observation by an extract from the Dublin Evening Mail, which contains a sensible and humane remark of Judge Torrens; part of his lordship's examination of a prisoner being as follows:

Court.—Did you never take an oath before? Never.—Do you know the nature of an oath? No!—Did you never hear that any punishment awaited a person who took a false oath? Never!!—Did you ever hear that there was such a person as God Almighty? I did.—Do you believe in God? No answer!!!—Where do you live? Newmarket.—Do you ever go to mass? Regularly.—Do you ever pray? No!!!

Court.—This is really one of the most lamentable cases of the ignorance of a wretched being that ever came within my knowledge, and if repeated, would not in another country be believed—to think that a man should live to such a time of life as the witness has attained, and yet be ignorant of the simplest rudiments of religion, is so incredible, that if I were not present myself, I too should doubt the possibility of such a circumstance having taken place.

Why should Missionaries be sent to Africa and America when they could be so much better employed at home? There are fifty thousand human beings in the province of Munster in a similar state of ignorance.—Dublin Evening Mail.

That the good intentions of religious societies are frustrated, and their best interests injured, by the cupidity of knaves or the designs of hypocrites, the following extract from the Parliamentary proceedings of the 11th of March, 1824, will satisfactorily prove. I need not add that Mr. Butterworth

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is a highly respectable gentleman, or that his exertions are unwearied in the cause of Christianity; but that there are defects and misconduct somewhere is self-evident.

Mr. Butterworth supported the motion.—The grant had heretofore done much good, and it would have a mischievous effect if it were now withheld. With respect to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, its labours had been beneficial. It was true that it *had been exposed to some atrocious impostures* which ought to be inquired into; but of its general utility no fair doubt could be entertained. The honourable member concluded by observing, that the grant, in his opinion, ought, if altered at all, to be increased.

Mr. H. G. Bennet said, it no doubt was very proper that those individuals should receive religious instruction; but the question was, who is to pay for it, the people of England; whose advantage must be contingent, or the inhabitants of the colonies, who received the immediate benefit of religious instructions? (Hear.) Another question was, through whose hands this grant should be distributed? He contended that it should go through the hands of the responsible authorities of the colonies. It ought not to be intrusted to this nondescript society. It might or it might not be respectable, for any thing that had come to his knowledge. But they did know this from the honourable member for Dover (Mr. Butterworth), that the society were the most consummate dupes that had been ever heard of. The honourable member had spoken of *accounts that would astonish them*, and of most *atrocious impostures*. He would then ask the House whether, without any evidence as to the good done by the society, and with their eyes open to the mischief that had been effected, they would consent to vote this large sum of money? He would not oppose the proposition altogether, but he would vote against placing the money in the hands of the society. It ought to be intrusted to responsible directors of the colony, who might distribute it as they thought proper.

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Should we ever be expelled from India (an event we seem to be striving hard to accelerate and accomplish), those acquainted with the country and people will readily allow, that the Mahomedans would again have the ascendancy, and succeed to our lost rule. The Mahomedans always wisely abstained from interfering with the religion or customs of their Hindoo subjects; they saw it was impracticable, and knew it to be unsafe. Is it for a moment to be supposed that they, possessing the sovereignty of the oriental continent, would tolerate a new religion among their Hindoo subjects, and a religion too which the Mahomedans hold in utter contempt? These points are, to those who will open their eyes, as plain as the sun at noon-day; but the prejudices and customs of the Hindoos are too firmly fixed for any thing less than divine interposition or a miracle to remove.

But to illustrate the preceding observations, and to show how far we may go, and how far we may not go, I will relate an occurrence, of recent date, in which I was a party. A native officer (Subadar or captain), by birth a Brahman, was condemned to death for treasonable correspondence with some of the ex-ministers of a deposed Rajah, a prince who had fled from the vengeance of his own people and the just resentment of the British. This Subadar had not only conspired against the native prince, whose servant he was, but had associated

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with others, and had plotted the murder of *every* British officer on the spot. He was found guilty by a jury of his own peers, the judicial proceedings of which trial were conducted by two British officers on oath. He was sentenced to be "shot to death," the awful sentence to be carried into execution by his *own countrymen*, all of whom looked upon his person as sacred, and many of whom would have thought it an honour to have drunk the water in which he washed his feet! but who *now*, from the trial he had gone through and their well regulated military feelings, did not object to be his executioners. There were but four British officers present, and the Hindoos under arms might be six hundred. He was led round the ranks; not a murmur was heard; and the security in which we were placed, during the death-like silence that pervaded all ranks, was a convincing proof of the attachment and respect of the natives to us, and which will always exist while we respect their institutions and customs.

A stranger would have thought it a trying moment; but this very man who was to be shot in his *civil* capacity was an object of terror and of veneration; and had I or a missionary laid hands upon him, *while he was even committing a crime*, or disturbed him in his temple, we should probably have been torn to pieces by the mob, who would have gloried in the deed. The Hindoos on the

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court martial were sworn on the waters of the Ganges and on some grains of rice; the Mahomedans on the Koran.

A curious question arises out of the above anecdote. On the natives becoming converted to Christianity to any extent, a total revolution we will suppose to take place in their political and moral state. In all civil cases and judicial proceedings how would the oath be administered? After abandoning their original faith, *Ganga Pani* and the Koran* would fall into disrepute, and the obligation of an oath would be nugatory. How then could a witness or criminal be sworn? It must be evident to all thinking minds that their countrymen would not believe the new-made Christians if sworn on our Scriptures; and after forsaking his own religion it were a mockery to attempt binding him by his former obligations; the natives would utterly reject the idea of his swearing according to our forms, and, as a renegade and unbeliever, he would not only be scoffed at, but loathed by all.

Truth must be told, however unpalatable, for it is only by that we can arrive at just conclusions. By way of explanation, or rather interrogation, let me ask, would the most zealous, firm, and sanguine

* Ganges water—Korman, or Koran, or Al Koran—To collect or read.

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advocate and supporter of the "conversion of the natives of India" like to have a debt of 1000*l.* at issue, the gain or loss of which was to depend upon the oath of a new made Christian administered on our Bible? My humble opinion is that both the cause and the money would be in imminent jeopardy. This is not a mere hypothesis; it must, as conversion goes on, become an every-day occurrence.

These discursive remarks have drawn me from the self-punishments, penances, and expiations practised by the Hindoos, and enjoined in their sanguinary codes. I have concisely touched the principal ones; it now remains to speak of Suttees, or widows burning themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands, which is a revolting custom in India,—"as old as the hills."

This sacrifice is deemed a most meritorious act. Bengal is of this, as of many other horrid rites, the nursery. The destructive personification of Siva and his goddess there have dominion with a frightful influence; indeed, in *that* division of India, gloomy prejudice and cruel superstition have a most absolute sway. In many other parts of the oriental continent, Suttees are of rare occurrence, and it is now on the decline even in Bengal.

By the report lately laid before the House of Commons, it appears that the following is a correct statement of widows who ascended the funeral pile.

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In the year 1817 the number was seven hundred and seven; in 1818, eight hundred and thirty-nine; in 1819, six hundred and fifty; in the year 1820 five hundred and ninety-seven, showing, in the last year, a decrease in the number of sacrifices amounting to one hundred and seven, as compared with the first year. The great increase in 1818 is attributable to the dreadful ravages made by that fell disease the cholera morbus*: hence so many widows.

* In this year, travelling by myself on duty through the wilds of Revah, and at least one hundred and thirty miles from any medical aid, I was seized with cholera, and thought my career was run. I took opium sufficient to kill four healthy men, and nearly half a tumbler of pure brandy with pepper and spices, went to bed, and slept soundly; the disorder was stopped, but I awoke dreadfully exhausted; it was with me, as sailors term it, "touch and go." One of my servants died on the same day. In 1821 I lost a remarkably fine and healthy boy aged two years. In the evening, at six o'clock, at Calcutta, we were proceeding to an amateur play, fourteen miles distant, and remained there to take our supper. The boy was left with his usual attendant, in robust health, ate of the same food, drank of the same water, slept in the same bed with his brother, who remained in perfect health, while the other when we returned home at two in the morning, was nearly dead! He was a fine, shrewd, and beautiful child, and for his intelligence and the peculiar shape of his head he was called Young Mathematics. Poor Richard! what a sight thou didst present to thy fond parents, who, returning from a party of pleasure, saw thee suffering under a disorder which neither medicine nor medical aid could arrest! I imagine the cholera morbus is the same disorder which the old Portuguese called "*Mort de chien.*"

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The native authorities on this sacrifice are too voluminous and unsatisfactory for me to examine them; suffice it to observe, the Shastahs do not enjoin burning, but they sanction it.

Menu, the first and most revered lawgiver, does not enforce burning; he rather leans to penances (Tapysa) and austerities. Two extracts will suffice for our purpose to show that widows are not positively required to burn. "Let her not, when her lord is dead, pronounce the name of another man; let her continue till death avoiding every sensual pleasure, forgiving every injury, performing harsh dûties, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by those women who were devoted to only one husband." He further adds, "That then she may expect to ascend to heaven, though she have no child, if after the decease of her lord she devote herself to pious austerity."

I do not know any passage from their sacred writings where Suttees are positively commanded, but in many they are sanctioned, if not enjoined. Without recurring to violent measures (than which nothing can be more dangerous to the safety of the state) impediments may be occasionally thrown in the way by government, such as a few tedious official forms to be gone through; and much might be effected by the personal attendance of the chief local authorities to expostulate with the widow, to make her children swear they have used no en-

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treaty, and to enter into securities to support the younger branches of the families. The judge and magistrate, or his confidential assistants, might also offer the victim protection, and, if poor, subsistence. These precautions, with others of a similar tendency, but always abstaining from violence or a direct interruption to the act, might go far to mitigate the evil, if not in course of time entirely check it.

Every man would make every judicious effort to suppress this inhuman and demoniacal sacrifice, for such it is; for what can be more dreadful than to see a young and beautiful female ascending the funeral pile, surrounded by two or three infant children, the pile set fire to, by prescriptive right, by the hand of the first born*?

I have witnessed two Suttees, both of which

* "This usage prevailed most when the Rajpoots had power and influence. The Mahomedan rulers endeavoured as much as they could, *without offending* their *Hindoo* subjects, to prevent it; and the Mahrattas, since they acquired the province, have by a wise *neglect* and *indifference*, which neither encouraged by approval nor provoked by prohibition, rendered the practice of very rare occurrence. In the whole of Malwa, there have not been, as far as can be learnt, above three or four Suttees *annually* for the last twenty years. They are much limited to particular tribes of Brahmans and Rajpoots."

No officer in India has more eminently distinguished himself during a long, useful, and brilliant career than Sir John Malcolm, the author of the above passage.—*Vide* "Report on Central India."

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were voluntary on the part of the women; nor were they intoxicated by any drugs, or tied down to the faggots. To one of these females I spoke, and asked her if it was her own choice, and whether she still wished to burn. She replied, with great calmness and dignity, "It is my fervent desire—nothing shall prevent me—if it did, I would stab myself." She gave me a bunch of the *Moogree* flowers, and ascended the pile with the same alacrity and cheerfulness as a love-sick bride goes to the altar—the latter seeking for earthly happiness, the former for eternal happiness with her departed lord.

Before closing the subject of Suttees, I extract the account of one which took place only last August, not *two miles distant from the Governor-general's country-house*, and in the very *vicinity of the head-quarters* of those really good men the Baptist missionaries at Serampore.

"A Suttee took place on the 15th of August at Serampore. The victim was a fine young woman, sixteen years of age, the widow of a man of the Komar or Blacksmith caste. She was the only child of her mother. The Bengal papers state that the immolation was deferred from an early hour in the morning until nine o'clock at night, during which time *every exertion* was made by the *magistrate* and the Rev. J. Marshman, and the *rest* of the individuals who compose the Serampore mission. Her *mother* also violently opposed the hor-

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id ceremony. But these humane efforts were in ain: actuated by a false enthusiasm, she put her inger into the candle, to show how little the fear of pain could alter her resolution. She was free rom intoxication, and the *magistrate* took *especial are* that no violence should be offered to her to nduce her to comply. She mounted the pile with cheerfulness, and expired without a sigh or a struggle."—*Calcutta, August* 1823.

" Nations behold, remote from Reason's beam,
Where Indian Ganges rolls his sandy stream,
Of life impatient, rush into the fire,
And, willing victims to their gods, expire,
Persuaded the loosed soul to regions flies
Bless'd with eternal spring and cloudless skies.
Nor is less famed the oriental wife,
For stedfast virtue and contempt of life:
These heroines mourn not with loud female cries
Their husbands lost, or with o'erflowing eyes;
But, strange to tell, their funeral piles ascend,
And in the same sad flames their sorrows end!"

Doubtless, in some instances, much good may be done by the timely and mild interference of the local authorities: in fact, it is on record, and I have myself been witness to it. The instances alluded to, and where women were induced by mild persuasion, and a guarantee of protection and future support, to abandon the design of burning, occurred at Kotgurh, Dec. 11th, 1822. The other Suttee, at Soobathoo, was prevented under similar circumstances. With the names of the humane in-

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dividuals who performed these meritorious acts I am unacquainted, but they are well authenticated. Another case occurred at Sumbhulpoor*, attended with like success, during last year. Capt. L. and a Mr. B. were instrumental in rescuing a female from the flames. A recent order, emanating from the Supreme Government, will, from the circumstance of being generally unknown in this country, prove interesting to all classes of people.

"Presidency of Fort William,
Sept. 1822.

"Whereas it has appeared that, during the ceremony denominated Suttee (at which Hindoo women burn themselves), certain acts have been occasionally committed, in direct opposition to the rules laid down in the religious institutes of the Hindoos, by which that practice is authorized and forbidden in particular cases: as, for instance, at several places pregnant women, and girls not yet arrived at their full age, have been burnt

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* In 1821, during a journey from Nagpoor to Calcutta, for a part through an almost unbeaten track, a distance of nearly seven hundred miles, I stopped at Sumbhulpoor, which stands on the banks of the magnificent Mahā Nuddie (Great River). The Rajah of the place paid his respects to me, as he was tributary to the Nagpoor Rajah, and, till our necessary interference, a prisoner for many years. He was still a young man; but, whether his confinement, or the immoderate use of that deleterious drug opium, had injured his senses I know not, he appeared very silly and stupid. It was during a severe thunder-storm; and he compared the sound of his guns to the thunder, and *his* understanding to the lightning! He wore three poniards; all of which he showed me as being very sharp, and poisoned.

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alive; and people, after having intoxicated women, by administering intoxicating substances, have burnt them without their assent whilst insensible; and, inasmuch as this conduct is contrary to the Shasters, and perfectly inconsistent with every principle of humanity (it appearing from the expositions of the Hindoo law delivered by Pundits, that the burning a woman pregnant, or one having a child of tender years, or a girl not yet arrived at full age, is expressly forbidden in the Shasters, and also that the intoxicating a woman for the purpose of burning her, and the burning one without her assent, or against her will, is highly illegal, and contrary to established usage), the police darogahs are hereby accordingly, under the sanction of government, strictly enjoined to use the utmost care, and make every effort to prevent the forbidden practices above-mentioned from taking place within the limits of their thannahs; and they are further required, on all occasions, immediately on receiving intelligence that this ceremony is likely to occur, either themselves to proceed to the spot, or send their Mohirrir or Jemedar, accompanied by a Burkundaz of the Hindoo religion, to learn of the woman who is to be burnt whether she has given her assent, and ascertain the other particulars above-mentioned relative to her age, &c. &c. &c. In the event of the female who is going to be burnt being less than sixteen years of age, or there being signs of her pregnancy, or on her declaring herself in that situation, or should the people be preparing to burn her, after having intoxicated her, without her consent or against her will (the burning a woman under any of these circumstances being in direct opposition to what is enjoined in the Shasters, and manifestly an act of illegal violence), it will be then their duty to prevent the ceremony, thus forbidden and contrary to established usage, from taking place, and require those prepared to perform it to refrain from so doing; also to explain to them, that, in the event of their persisting to commit an act forbidden, they would involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to retribution and punishment; but in the case of the woman being of full age, and no other impediment existing, they will nevertheless remain on the spot, and not allow the most mi-

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nute particular to escape observation; and in the case of people preparing to burn a woman by compulsion, or after having made her insensible by administering spirituous liquors or narcotic drugs, it will be then their duty to exert themselves in restraining them; and at the same time to let them know that it is not the intention of the government to check or forbid any act authorized by the tenets of the religion of the inhabitants of their dominions, or even to require any express leave or permission being required previously to the performance of the act of Suttee; and the police officers are not to interfere and prevent any such act from taking place. And, lastly, it will be their duty to transmit immediately, for the information of the magistrates, a full detail of any measures which they may have adopted on this subject, and also on every occasion, when within the limits of their thannahs this ceremony of Suttee may take place, the same being lawfully conducted, they will insert it in the monthly reports.

(Signed) G. H. FAGAN, Adj.-Gen."

At present there appears no opening for other measures being pursued. Time, and the light of reason—the circulation of historical tracts, theological lectures, moral essays, and physico-theological subjects—may, while they instruct the mind, make it give way and relinquish the absurdities and monstrosities which now disgrace the institutes of the Hindoos; but nothing can be worse calculated for the end in view than the tracts published by religious societies in India. They contain a great deal about faith, grace, reprobation, and many unintelligible terms and meanings, with much vindictive and censorious comment. We ought first of all to instruct the mind by general and interesting subjects, blended with scriptural

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portions and doctrinal points. We have then half subdued the mind; but mere preaching, and distributing religious or pious tracts, is not the way to contend with the civilized but deeply-prejudiced Hindoo.

I once met a hawker near Patna, who sold every month from 30 to 40 rupees' worth of works on general subjects, printed in the native languages. He had many tracts, purely religious, at half their original cost, not one of which had he sold. The reason he assigned was—they were not interesting, and people could not understand them. If instruction and exhortation had been blended with amusement and entertainment, it is much more likely these tracts would be perused than they are at present.

We will now recur to the falling off in the worship paid to Juggernaut, which is a favourable omen. When I was there, at the festival of 1821, for that and the preceding year, no victims had thrown themselves under the wheels of the ponderous machine (*Rutt*), and the votaries had greatly decreased in number. In former times, the victims of the idol had been very numerous; and as many as sixteen lakhs of people have been known to be there at a time.—(A lakh is 100,000.)—At the period I allude, the number could not exceed 55,000. A native told me, that "the Brahmans having pilfered some of the jewels, and the god being angry with the people, and killing so many with the

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cholera morbus in their journey, they had got displeased with him." I have heard similar reasons given by a native who had attended the missionaries: he said—"The things they had promised had not been given; and instead of deriving good and happiness by attending to our people, they only got sick and poor, and should, therefore, being deceived, go back to their old worship!" But that Juggernaut had fallen off in his character is certain. When I left India, the Brahmans were talking of removing him to a more central situation—*alias, a better market.*

A very valuable essay has lately been presented to the Asiatic Society, on the country about Cuttack and Pooree, near where the temple is situated, by Mr. D. Stirling*. It has not yet reached England, and the parts in my possession are too long to be inserted; and I feel I should not do justice

* This young man, when I was at Cuttack, was assistant to the sole commissioner, Mr. W. Blunt; and, after having stood at the head of all the Oriental classes at College, from his superior abilities he was selected for an important post. Of his principal, Mr. W. Blunt, it is impossible to speak in too high terms: to talents of the very first order, and a knowledge of India inferior to no one, he adds an amiable disposition and most gentlemanly manners. I have been sitting with him (in 1821) while he was conversing in three different languages with some natives of consequence, writing himself in Persian, dictating to a native secretary, and at intervals speaking to me, and occasionally giving orders. The country intrusted to his sole care is probably larger than Ireland. The highest diplomatic posts will ere long fall to his choice, and eventually a seat in the Supreme Council.

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to the valuable matter by abridging it. In illustration of the disappointed feelings of the natives, and the ridiculous notions and fears they entertain, the following petition, presented to the late bishop of Calcutta, will show the state of their minds:

"To the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"The humble petition of Rutton Ghose, Kantoo Doss, Needy Ram Saha, Bhyrobchund Mullick, Budhee Saha, Bokul Saha, and Gour Dhobee, for themselves, and on behalf of one hundred Christian converts:

"Sheweth, that your petitioners are by birth Hindoos, and heretofore did, as is the custom of Hindoos, perform the worship and ceremonies of their religion, as laid down in the Shasters and other holy books, agreeably to the rites which have been established from time immemorial in these regions.

"That some years since certain people, denominated missionaries, arrived from Europe for the express purpose of converting the natives of this country to the Christian faith. Among these missionaries, one named William C——, better known by the designation of Doctor C——, did by the seductive art of persuasion, and by artful representations of the truths and efficacy of the Christian doctrines, as the only sure and certain guides to salvation, at the same time condemning the Shasters,

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Tantras, and Poorauns of the Hindoos to be the works of Satan, and as such would inevitably lead their believers to damnation and eternal punishment, so operate on the minds of your petitioners, that, led by their fears on the one hand, and seduced on the other hand by the hope of support and protection which he held out to such as should embrace the religion of Christ, your petitioners were induced to forsake the religion of their ancestors, and to suffer the ritual of baptism.

" Your petitioners, placing entire reliance and confidence on the word and faith of Dr. C——; —for how could they suppose that a teacher of Christian morality could be found defective to his promises?—became converts to his doctrines, and were baptized, as they were taught to think, into Christ his church. But what must be the poignancy of their feelings to discover that these flattering prospects of support and protection are as unstable and fleeting as the visionary objects of a dream? Expelled from their caste, and expatriated their homes and families, deprived of the countenance and support of those to whom they are allied by the ties of nature, and become objects of contempt and derision to their Hindoo brethren, they now, in this state of humiliation, experience the fallacy of those promises by which they were deluded. Condemned, like outcasts of society, to depend for a precarious subsistence on the lukewarm generosity and benevolence of strangers, to

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whom shall your petitioners, in the overwhelmings of their affliction, look up for support and protection, unless to your Lordship, who hath been selected to fill the highest and most respectable station of the episcopacy in India?

"Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly solicit your Lordship's attention to their miserable condition; and with hopes of exciting your Lordship's commiseration, they humbly crave permission to approach your Lordship with this relation of their sufferings; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

"Calcutta, June 16, 1817.

It is absolutely required, in a question like the present, to show the state of things in every bearing; not only that that which is defective may be amended, but that we may have a clear road before us for our future operations. Persons who go to India, and visit only the seaports, bring home such strange notions of the people, that the best-informed persons in England are deceived. As well might we estimate the people of England by the inhabitants of Wapping, or the fine Irish nation by the character of those who reside in St. Giles's; or, by parity of reasoning, the superior moral conduct, courage, and fortitude of the British, by the eulogiums and commentaries bestowed on the heroism and manliness of that callous, sanguinary, and detestable murderer Thurtell. The lower orders

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at the seaports in India, from their intercourse with foreigners, will do any thing, and become any thing; while those in the interior of the country are nearly a distinct race in their habits and manners, in morals, and in their way of thinking.

I heard a person lately returned from a voyage say, "O prevent their religious processions, and disperse their fanatical mobs!"—I would not wish to be one up the country intrusted with the execution of such a command, and should look upon the officer who issued such a mandate as a madman. A soldier, it is true, has no right to think, but only to obey; but as an author I have a right to speak—although there again I am exposed to a *court-martial*, the *members* of which in their *periodical* sittings often visit poor literary culprits with severe sentences, from which there is no appeal. However, as I speak the truth without any vanity or egotism, and dress up my statements in the best habiliments I am master of, a degree of leniency and courtesy, it is hoped, will accompany justice in the punishment awarded for my transgressions and offences.

At Hindoo and Mussulman festivals I have seen large parties of the *same* sect, and proceeding on the *same religious* errand, who would not give precedence to each other, commence a battle-royal, in which several were wounded, and an armed party called out to suppress the riot, and yet the ag-

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gressors on *both* sides were our own mild, obedient, and faithful Siphauees. You may punish or injure them in any way; but when their religious ceremonies are interrupted, even by their own brethren, then ensue most dreadful commotions. While their minds are in this state of excitation, woe be to the luckless wight that should interfere. Their submission to the utmost strictness of military discipline is astonishing, and only equalled by their boundless attachment to a British Officer, whom they usually term their "father or brother." Naturally brave and affectionate, they will follow their officer any where; if he should fall, they will sink with despair and sorrow; but let him once only interfere in their religious prejudices and customs, they will shun him as a pestilence and avoid him as an enemy. Bellary, Benares, and lately Poona, are cities where these brief observations have been practically verified, and the contrary result has been fatally experienced at Vellore.

We now draw to a conclusion in these remarks on the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian faith, written with the best feelings of conciliation towards the cause, and with undeviating fidelity as to facts. I am not desirous of deceiving any man, or sect, by bombastic detail or crude suppositions. It is by eye-witnesses and unprejudiced observers that the probability of success attending our evangelical labours alone can be estimated.

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It is with true concern that I notice the following passage from that old and very respectable Review, *The Eclectic.*

"This poor old priest has, in fact, we have no doubt, been *spirited up* to abuse the Bible Society and the Serampore Missionaries, by some of those *military gentry* the *Qui-hies* of *Calcutta*, who are much more *likely* to be found at a *Doorga feast* than in a *Christian Church* of any kind, to whom a Baptist missionary would *naturally* enough be an excellent joke over their mangoe, fish, and maligatannie *,"—Vol. xx. p. 291.

In this charge against the military gentry, the *Qui-hies* † of Calcutta, I wish to ask, is it consistent, just, or generous? It is not consistent thus to attack a respectable body of men (because they happen to be soldiers) without better grounds, and it is only productive of hostile feelings on the part of the persons accused. It cannot be generous, for the *Qui-hies* have subscribed, most liberally, thou-

* *i. e.* Mullecki-tunni, or pepper-water.

† *Qui-hie?* Any one there? A mode the English at Bengal adopt in calling to their domestics; hence the nick-name. The English at Madras are facetiously designated Mulls, from their great fondness to the soup called Mullecki-tunni; while the Bombay people are called Ducks, from a name given to part of the army who opposed the late Tippoo Sahib. He was heard to observe, on hearing that the Bombay detachments kept the field in the rainy season, "They were like ducks, always in the water."

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sands of rupees to the schools, chapels, and missionaries. It is not just, for the military gentry, generally speaking, did not know there was such a person as the Abbé Dubois in existence, and if they did, he was one thousand miles distant, and the military have other occupations than entering into religious controversies. The Company's officers are, for the far greater part, too well educated and polished to treat *any* priest with disrespect, or to calumniate his sacred office. It is much to be regretted that such a passage should have appeared in a work celebrated for the justness of its critical inquiries. Observations like these only tend to exasperate, where it is our *duty* and *interest* to conciliate.

Much ill will has been produced in India by some few of the missionaries themselves. Stubborn in most suggestions proposed to them, and incredulous in the extreme, sanguine beyond all bounds, and sometimes uncourteous among those who could and would have aided their labours,—of which the late Mr. Martyn was a proof. Their friends at home, instead of checking these ebullitions of their inexperienced though zealous labourers, espouse their proceedings, and increase the difficulties by widening the breach; whereas every auxiliary aid is required in furtherance of the "good cause."

Another instance of credulity, wrong feeling, and reproach, is from the Church Missionary Register, from the correspondence of one of their labourers

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in India. "That wretched man *Sabat* (writes one who well knew him) was made to feel this *keenly*. I have seen (he adds) the tear stream down his fine Arabian face as he told me of the *indignities* and *reproaches* he had *suffered* from *British Christians*." Now, for my part, I should be loth to believe an Arab on his oath: they are singularly artful, and given to dissimulation and lying, which to an Arab is habitual: they can cry at pleasure, and stab at pleasure; and will, to please you or gain a point, say any thing or do any thing. The Arab of the Desert and the Arab of India are very different persons; but the faithlessness and deceptions of an Arab are a by-word. And as to *Sabat's* report*, I believe not one word of it; not only from knowing their character well, but that a British subject would not take the trouble to reproach such contemptible reprobates. There is nothing in such a man to interest or gratify the party offering the indignities complained of. The report goes on to state, "Your Committee are happy to be assured that proceedings of this nature, as impolitic as they are immoral, are fast dying away." This is satisfactory; but for my part, for many substantial reasons, I disbelieve, as far as British subjects are concerned, that they ever took place, and that the reports have originated in misrepresentation and good-natured credulity.

* I have since heard that *Sabat* was discovered to be a rank impostor, and as such treated by the Missionaries.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Native Teachers—Bibles—Missionary Reports—Official Orders and Letters—Departure from Aurungabad—Katees—Arrive at Ahmed-Nuggur—Bheels—Guzerat—Mr. Cleveland—Toorkabad—Jungle—Rencontre—Arrows—Baroda.

SHOULD success ever crown the exertions of the missionaries, a far greater number of teachers and ministers would be required; and it is evident, unless the cause becomes a national subject, or a vast accumulation in the funds takes place, the increased expenses could not be borne; and trusting the management to cheap native assistants in the provinces would not only be impolitic as far as the welfare of the cause is concerned; but extremely dangerous to the interests of government, as there is no knowing what these native enthusiasts, possessing a little authority and much ambition, would not attempt, particularly if far removed from the control and vigilance of their European pastors. This may be anticipating an evil; but it is as well, in an event so momentous as endeavouring to effect a total revolution in the religion, the morals, and the political and social institutions of one hundred millions of people (and history tells us of Paraguay in South America), to look to *probable* consequences while we are speaking of those *now passing* before our eyes.

During my sojourn in India I have visited the

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countries of Bengal, Berar, Bahar, Orissa, the Carnatic, Mysore, Soondah, Ceylon, Malabar, the Deccan, Visiapoor and Guzerat, and have besides served at the three several presidencies. At the capitals I have certainly seen a number of translations of the Scriptures in the various oriental languages; but in the provinces and towns of the countries above-mentioned I never, by application or inquiry, could hear of a copy of the sacred writings in the possession of a native; of course I except such places as Benares, Patna, and the cities where schools, &c. are established. I have been on board five different vessels navigated by European seamen, and they had no copies of the Bible or New Testament, nor could I find, by inquiry, that in other vessels in which they had sailed they were furnished with the means of studying the Scriptures. When, therefore, we are told, in an official Register, that the sums voluntarily subscribed in Great Britain for the use of religious societies amounts to 1000*l.** per day, every exertion ought to be taken in distributing the sacred writings effectively, and, as in the case of "Mahomet and the mountain," if the ships won't come to the societies, the societies must go to them.

* I am informed that 500,000*l.* per ann. is about the amount. For charitable and religious purposes not less than 2,500,000*l.* is annually subscribed. Surely such vast sums ought to be placed under the salutary control of Parliament, and all the accounts should be audited on oath. We do not live in the most honest times; indeed I have strong reasons for the above observation, or rather advice.

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On my return from India, intending to remain at the Cape of Good Hope for my health (but which becoming dangerously bad compelled me to come to England), I purchased another Bible for the use of my family, but, being obliged to accompany them, I gave the extra Bible to the seamen of the ship, and it was a most gratifying sight to see them on a Sunday, in their best apparel, sitting in an orderly manner in a circle on the forecastle, while the best scholar among them read aloud. None of these men, as I could find out, had ever sailed in vessels possessing copies of the Scriptures.

I will now close my observations on the conversion of the Hindoos by the subjoined extracts which the Church Missionary Society have, in their periodical Journal for January, 1824, published. They consist of several official statements received from some of the missionaries in India. The unreserved publication of these reports reflects the highest credit on the Institution, not only from the promptitude with which they have been given to the public, but for their integrity in furnishing them unmutilated or unaltered.

It will be seen from these extracts that defects exist, and that the cause does not prosper in the way all *real* friends and advocates of the cause could wish; but let the extracts speak for themselves.

Baptist Missionary Society, established 1801.—"Of the places for native worship, which are four in Calcutta, one at Hourah, and three connected with Doorgapore, it is said in the Report:

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"'The missionaries meet day after day various and ever fluctuating congregations, and have to encounter the same irksome round of frivolous excuses and objections a thousand times repeated; while, at the same time, their pity is roused by witnessing the complicated miseries of those who hasten after other gods.'

"At Hourah, the prospect of usefulness is extending. Of one of the chapels in Calcutta it is said:

"'The whole of one morning in the week has been spent in this place in conversing with visitors, entering more largely into the nature and requirements of the gospel, and exposing the fallacy of those hopes of eternal salvation which any other system affords.'

"At Doorgapore there is another Brahmin who seems likely to tread in the steps of Anunda; but of others the missionaries report:

"'Many inquirers prompted by interest, and some by curiosity, have applied to the missionaries; but when it was found that the profession of the gospel promised no temporal advantage, and that the truths which it reveals, though so important, were plain and simple, their anxiety to become acquainted with it ceased.'"

Calcutta London Missionary Society.—"At Union Chapel the congregation has increased to upward of three hundred; the communicants are about fifty. There is Bengalee preaching in four places, and another was to be erected. The directors state:

"'The brethren continue every evening in the week, when practicable, to preach to the natives in the chief places of concourse, either in the streets of Calcutta or the public roads of its vicinity. The congregations which assemble on these occasions apparently listen with attention. Many, from time to time, have appeared deeply impressed with the force of truth; and some, during the past year, have manifested very encouraging indications of real conversion to Christ. The brethren, however, lament that the natives too seldom exhibit a desirable spirit of inquiry, and still less frequently conduct their inquiries with calmness and candour.

"'Seriously and painfully impressed with the little success

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which has hitherto attended their labours among the Heathen, the brethren at this station have resolved to set apart one day in every month for self-examination, humiliation, and special prayer.'"

Digah near Patna and Dinapore, a large military station three hundred and twenty miles from Calcutta.—Baptist Missionary Society, established 1809.—"He wishes to be baptized; after which he would consider me as being under an obligation to provide for him. I do not mean to insinuate by this that it would be his wish to live without work, but that he would expect that I should, in case of necessity, get him something to do by which to support himself and his family.

"You are no doubt already aware of the difficulties with which we are surrounded with respect to inquirers. On the one hand, they are rejected by their friends and heathen countrymen, and thus deprived of the means of subsistence; and, on the other, we are unable to support them from our funds. I should be exceedingly thankful if the Society would communicate to me their thoughts on this subject. How ought a missionary to act when he sees something really hopeful in an inquirer, but by baptizing him he is necessitated either to find him employment for his support, or to turn him out into the world in great distress?"

Another extract is given from the same station.

"The activity of the native assistants does not at present seem to be rewarded by success. It is said of them:

"'Our native brethren are active in going from house to house, in visiting places immediately around us, and in attending to the ordinary round of duty. They certainly claim our sympathy and our prayers. Day after day, week after week, month after month, and year after year, they are engaged more or less in conversing with their countrymen on the redemption to be found in Christ, without meeting with any who afford them joy here, and give them a hope that they will be their crown in the day of the Lord

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Jesus. Let us earnestly beseech the Lord to bless them and make them a blessing.'"

Allahabad, four hundred and ninety miles from Calcutta, a large and populous city.—Church Missionary Society.—"But little success has attended the labours at this station."

American Board of Missions, Bombay, established 1813.—"The missionaries have strongly urged the supply of more labourers to recruit their diminished numbers. They frankly state the trials of the mission, and its little apparent success; and while they would humble themselves, on these accounts, before God, they inquire whether their hands are sufficiently strengthened by the fervent and unwearied prayers of Christians at home for the influence of the Holy Spirit; and this inquiry the Board, in a late Report, apply closely to the consciences of the members."

Bellary London Missionary Society, established 1810.—"I experienced much delight among the poor Hindoos. I knew not that I ever before felt such enlargement and affection in praying for them, or so great liberty and comfort in speaking to them; while the attention with which they in many places heard the word, and their eagerness to obtain books, exceeded any thing I had ever before seen.

"Oh for the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit! this is what we want; this is what we long and earnestly pray for. We rejoice to hear that the British churches are likewise *wrestling with God* for the same blessing. This is a token for good, almost an earnest of the blessing itself; a desire which we trust the Holy Spirit hath himself excited. The seed is already sown, and nothing wanting but the showers of heaven to render it fruitful."

Bengalore London Missionary Society, established 1820.—"The number of boys had increased to between two and three hundred. Efforts, however, were made to excite in the minds of the Hindoos, a prejudice against the object; in consequence of

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which by much the larger number of the boys have been taken away. Those who remained were making considerable progress."

Cannanore Church Missionary Society, established 1818.—"The Rev. Francis Spring, chaplain at Tellicherry, reports but unfavourably of the congregation at Cannanore. The irregular attendance at the school was such as to lead him to give it up."

Nagracoil London Missionary Society, established 1805.—"Of the effect of the ministry upon the people, the missionaries write:

"'In most of the congregations there are some persons whose attention is encouraging. Upon the whole there is a greater decision of conduct than formerly. The means of instruction have been increased; and with these we believe some additional light has been communicated. The gross darkness of heathenism is not soon dispersed. We have seen and heard much of British heathenism; but it cannot be compared with the awful debasement of mind which characterises a people who have for so many ages worshipped the Evil Spirit, the Prince of Darkness. Occasionally persons come forward and renounce paganism, although not in such large numbers as formerly.'"

We will now resume our narrative at Aurungabad. Shortly after returning to Mr. Johnson's house, from the party at Shah Sāfit's, I found the annexed official note from head-quarters.

Versovah, October 23, 1810.

(On the Service.)

"Sir—I have it in command to acquaint you, that the corps is ordered for immediate service, into a remote part of Guzerat (Kattywar), and it is expected will proceed into Cutch. I have the

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honour to inform you that your presence is required, and to intimate to you the necessity of using all convenient speed in your return to head-quarters.

"(Signed), &c."

The preceding official note was accompanied by the following good-humoured epistle, written by the best of men, and dearest of friends, Captain John Lewis.

"My Dear S——. All bustle and uproar—the M—— is getting full of fight. It is said we shall have a good deal to do; and one satisfaction is, we shall have *all* the honour, as the battalion goes alone. I do not call the four or five thousand of the *Guickvar*'s troops any thing but a burden: they will only eat up the country and annoy us; but as the Resident goes, he will keep them in order. He is a most excellent man. We shall have lots of sport on the road: as we have the cold season before us, and the districts abound with game, we may expect good health and sport. Try, if you can, to pick up some good camels and dogs —both are required for the mess, and for ourselves. We pass by *Surat*, *Broach*, *Baroda*, and *Kaira*, on to *Palliad;* thence to the Gulf of *Cutch* and *Bate* Island, where there are some strong piratical places to be knocked down, and the *Kattees* have of late given H. H. much trouble; and though not as one

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in twenty, they always make shift to beat his troops and frighten his agents. Expedite your movements. The mess is well supplied, and we look to have a most pleasant journey. We are all in high spirits, and you know our good fellowship is never disturbed. You must, by this time, be pretty well *cave-sick*. Now is your time—lots of old Brahmins and their long-nosed Gunputtys, and temples out of number. Adieu! all regret your absence and your *no* jokes. You have given Sir B——y and * * * * a long respite.—Yours sincerely,

"J. L.

"P. S. We are to visit the rich Temple of Dwarka in our subsequent operations. All the lads send best salaam."

Of all the adventures we met with during our long stay in Guzerat, it were needless here to speak. We had a good deal of service to perform, saw much of new and interesting countries, and particularly of a singular people, the *Kattees*, called by the ancients *Katheri*. These men had few prejudices, little or no religion, were always on horseback, and never happy but when fighting; they wore steel armour, similarly made to the meshes of a close net, and never plundered travellers. They lived in distinct communities, each under his chief. One of these, Niga-Kather, who used to go out a hog-hunting, had thirteen sabre

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wounds in his body and head. They used to decide their quarrels in single combat, and would sometimes come in and ask permission to fight. They were remarkably well made, with very strongly-marked countenances, and aquiline noses. A hundred of these could at any time put to rout five hundred of the Guickvar's troops. Had they remained united, they might have defied his power; but they were always fighting or making foray on each other. Unlike the Hindoos, they do not wear sectarial marks: they wear immense turbans, but of *no particular* form, as with the Hindoos. These were sometimes quilted and well stuffed with cotton, as were their fighting jackets, to turn the edge of a sabre. The sleeves of their coats, when drawn down over the hand, would reach for two or three yards, but which were always rolled up on the arm. As lancers they were very expert, which is not very common in India. I make these few remarks to excite inquiry about a people, distinct in many essential particulars from the Hindoos; about whom we know nothing, but who are a daring, active, and friendly people.

On the receipt of the foregoing official and private communication, it became necessary to use all expedition on my return to the head-quarters of my corps. I had previously intended visiting the frontier station of Julnah, and the plains of Assye, where General Sir A. Wellesley gained his desperately-fought battle against the confederated Mah-

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ratta princes*; but as my journey was long, and my zeal led me to join my corps, if possible, before the march commenced into Guzerat (Gooj Rāāt), I at once took leave of my friends, and was accompanied the first stage by Mr. Johnson, who had abundantly supplied my wants for the returning journey. I returned by a shorter road, sixteen miles to Toorkabad†, the first stage, when I parted with Mr. Johnson, whose kindness and politeness will for ever live in my memory.

Without any particular incident, except a Bheel rencontre, I again crossed the Godavery, halted a few hours at Tokā, and on the fifth day again entered the walls of Ahmed-nuggur, where I met with a repetition of the former hospitality and kind greeting. I was myself very much jaded, and my baggage was a good deal in the rear; so, having despatched a letter to head-quarters, stating my progress, and having ascertained that I was not pressed for a day or two, and urged by the necessity of some rest, I devoted the time of my stay to observations and researches on this celebrated fortress; but before going into that detail, I propose, as before expressed, to say a few words on the Bheels, the most adroit and daring banditti and mercenaries (for they are both) in the world.

* Scindiah and the Nagpoor Rajah.

† Turkey is sometimes called Toork Sthan, or country of the Turks; but how this wretched village got the name of Toorkabadi t isdifficult to conjecture. Roum is the other name by which Turkey is known.

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Some account of these numerous hordes will not be inappropriate in this place; for, I believe, in them and other similar tribes of freebooters, we recognize the aborigines of India, long before India was stocked from the great northern family. Their haunts are in the wildest parts of India, where neither civilization nor the Brahminical creed have ever penetrated; and they hold both in great contempt. They are generally of short stature, sometimes with short curly hair, and a thickness of the lower lip; of very dark complexion, and more masculine in form than the Hindoos. Their habits are migratory; but wherever extensive forests, or mountainous woody tracts are formed, parties of Bheels reside, and only quit their strong holds for plunder, or to engage as auxiliaries in a foray, to devastate and destroy that which contending chiefs cannot themselves accomplish. A refinement in the vengeance of sanguinary warfare was always had recourse to in the employment of Bheels; and of late years likewise in those desultory vindictive inroads of petty chiefs, the Bheel became a willing and useful ally, and the work of destruction was incomplete without his demoniacal aid, in poisoning the wells, burning the villages, murdering the inhabitants, destroying the crops, and driving off the cattle. Fifty Bheels could be more useful than five hundred troops, approaching by paths through the deep forests known only to themselves. Their appearance was as sudden as un-

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expected, and the visit fatal to the devoted spot. To find treasure, the most horrid and refined cruelties were practised, the like of which we have not in history. Their retreats were unknown; the jungle and mountains were impenetrable to all but themselves; and woe to the individual who opposed a Bheel, or was marked out by them for vengeance. A journey of three hundred miles would be a mere walk to a Bheel. Wily, hardy, and bold, no danger could arrest his progress, and no security protect his victim, though years might elapse of unavailing pursuit; and if the Bheel did not succeed, at last he would destroy himself.

An officer, a Captain B—d, had, by interrupting and wounding a Bheel, while labouring in his vocation, been marked. In consequence of this he had a sentry to his house; but from the neighbouring bank of the river they had worked a subterraneous passage, for a considerable distance, large enough for one man to crawl along, and had begun to perforate the floor of his bedchamber when he was discovered. We had at the city where this took place nearly two thousand troops, yet it was necessary, for the officer's safety, to remove him to Bombay. A Parsee messman, who had refused to pay the usual tribute to the Bheels, was found dead in the morning in the mess-room. It was his custom to put his mat on a large wine-chest where he slept: in the morning he was found with his head placed on the mess-table, the headless body lying on the chest. In neither of

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the above instances was plunder their object, but the choute (tribute), which they considered to be their unquestionable right, by established and immemorial custom, had not been paid. At the mess-room there were two sentries stationed, whom they had eluded, a matter of no difficulty to a Bheel on a dark night, as will be duly shown. Those who do pay are safer than in the streets of London, and may leave untold treasure in their charge: their word is most sacred, their promise unimpeachable.

In some parts of Guzerat the Bheels * are not only numerous, but formidable. Neither their interest nor inclination induces them to attack an armed force, though probably a large booty would prevail on them to incur danger; and if revenge was to be gained, they would risk the chance of an encounter.

While the native princes tolerate and encourage them, there is but little probability of their returning to peaceful and industrious habits. To follow them into their wilds is impracticable; for if driven from one spot they would retire to another; while the expense and trouble in offensive operations against them would be very great, and the insalubrity of the extensive jungles† in India would

* *Nashoda* is another name for them, implying a horrid or bad action.

† In a journey which I performed (the most unfortunate one I ever undertook) in 1821 from Nagpoor to Ryepore, for thirty-six miles, was one entire thick jungle; and not a hut or inhabitant was seen during the whole distance.

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soon cause their assailants to retire. From the same cause it would be impossible to form permanent locations among them, to subdue their predatory habits, and improve their moral state.

There are great charms to the mind of the uncivilized man—roaming about in his fastnesses, the lord of the forest, and owing no allegiance to any one; living in a state of nature, and exacting tribute from the civilized part of the creation. A herdsman by necessity, a freebooter by profession, and a hunter by choice, the Bheel cares for no one, but makes mankind and the soil subservient to his wants and caprices.

The native princes found them useful; or, if they did not, it was found unwise to attempt to expatriate them, as they would only join the armies of some neighbouring and hostile power, and return and take a frightful revenge on the country from which they had been driven,—admitting that the prince in whose territories they had taken up their abode had the power and inclination to expel them. That these hordes may be brought into the paths of civilization is unquestionable: *we* have in part accomplished it; but never will the native princes effect such a desirable thing.

I might here instance the successful exertions of Mr. Cleveland, in 1780, in the mountainous districts of Raj-Mahal, who not only by his wise and humane policy brought a wild and aboriginal race to industrious habits, but, strange as it would

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seem, actually formed an irregular corps out of their body, whom he afterwards employed for the purpose of subduing the prejudices and reforming the habits of their untractable and more distant brethren. Were I, however, to go minutely into the subject regarding the predatory and uncivilised hordes that infest various parts of India, it would be to write a history of the Coolis of Guzerat, the Goands of Berar, the Dacoits of Bengal, and the Bheels generally, and the latter subdivided into the cultivating Bheel and the mountain Bheel. It is my intention to give a few traits of the character, instead of going into a relation or history of these original and singular people; and what has chiefly brought them now to notice was a rencontre with a few of them, on my returning journey, in the extensive jungle before arriving at Toka.

I was riding on at a slow pace, but a short distance from Toorkahad, when I overtook a Jemidar (a native lieutenant) with an armed party of forty matchlocks and horsemen, conveying about six hundred bullocks laden with grain for the Nizam's service. After the usual interchange of salutes we fell into conversation, and though I had no wish to be detained, I had no particular objection to keeping him company for a short time. He was a fine looking fellow, and appeared to know it; for he was on very good terms with himself. He was well mounted, and equally well armed. The conversation turned on Bheels, not

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a very pleasing topic to persons in the heart of a thick forest, inhabited by these fellows in great numbers. We had a good body of men with us, and, according to the report of the Jemidar, his breast contained as good and as stout a heart as ever went pit-a-pat. Two of my Siphauees were near me (for we had not long quitted the village), so that we made a good show. The Jemidar's account of himself went to prove that he was a very devil at hanging up Bheels, and his exploits multiplied in the relation like the "men in buckram;" but he was a very Bobadil, as most of your boasters are: the old adage tells us "not to cry before you are out of the wood."

In the midst of his narration of his wondrous feats the conch blew,—out stepped four Bheels, exclaiming, "we want the *dustoor*, the *choute*" (custom and tribute); their numbers soon increased; the Jemidar expostulated, remonstrated, threatened: as well might he have reasoned with the wind. Two or three arrows passed over our heads; on which I told the chief Bheel, that if either myself or men were *stunned** I would shoot him dead. He calmly replied, "You are safe, being a Company's soldier; but," he continued, "as for this haram zadah †, his master would hang

* These arrows are rounded at the head, and not discharged with any great force, but merely used to stun or knock down an object without severely wounding, and are generally aimed at the legs or ribs.

† Literally "bastard of the haram;" but signifying also a dissipated, idle, and vicious person.

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us up if he could, and he himself would make his own sircar (government) pay him the amount of tribute, cheating us and his master together." My Siphauees were loaded, and would have fired had I desired them; but it would have been nothing less than madness to have risked the certainty of being shot, without any adequate benefit being derived to the state, to myself, or to my men; besides which, I should have incurred the displeasure of my own government in commencing an attack; or had I repelled aggression, the Bheels would assuredly have taken a frightful revenge on the first European that fell in their way. There is something very vexatious, however, in a soldier, for his personal safety and free passage, compromising with a professed robber.

The Jemidar paid for each bullock 2 anas (16 make a rupee), and appeared to think himself well out of the affair. Perhaps he was right, and justly considered, that

> "He that is in battle slain
> Will never live to fight again."

I did not object to the pacific conduct pursued; but the Jemidar's previous vapouring and subsequent pusillanimity gave me no favourable idea of his sense or bravery; for in the discussion with the little, thick-set, muscular Bheel, he showed many symptoms of personal fear. In short, he was one of those kind of *braggadocios* who are "the first at a feast, and the last at a fray."

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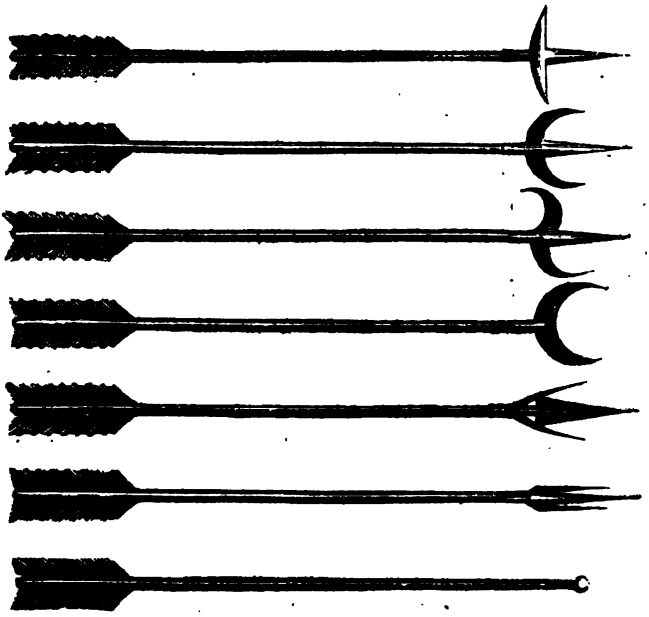
The formidable weapons that these banditti use would not raise the most pleasing emotions in the mind of a timid man; and the unerring accuracy with which they will strike even a bird flying is not calculated to allay the fears excited upon viewing their instruments of destruction. Some of their arrows are pointed, some crescent-shaped; others have flat and sharp edges, and some are made with a rounded head, to stun, or slightly wound. The elasticity and power of the bow, which is made of bamboo, sends the "winged messenger" an incredible distance: but a sketch of their arrows will better explain how they are fashioned.



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I did not fail to joke with my new acquaintance on his little success this time in hanging and slaying. He had reasons to offer for his submission to the exactions of the Bheels; but in his palliation of the compromise, he chose to omit the principal motive, viz.—"Better to have a whole skin than a cracked one." The most singular reason he urged was, that the Bheels would have shot some of the bullocks; and the owner of them was a friend of his, a high-caste Hindoo, who would be shocked at such an event!

Finding that my jokes were not palatable, he turned purposely out of his road, and we separated in the most courteous manner, although, probably, our mutual opinions of each other were not very favourable.

At another period, travelling with my wife in a palanquin carriage, or *Shigrumpo**, towards Baroda, the capital city of Guzerat (at which place we had a subsidized force stationed, amounting to about 2000 men), when within a few miles of the city, we were stopped by two Bheels, who demanded tribute. I had a pair of pistols, and instantly cocked one; it appearing to me at the moment an insult to the British flag, flying but a few miles off, to submit to the impost. Remonstrance

* "To go quick,"—a Madras term. *Shig-rum-po*, a kind of palanquin carriage, or a large palanquin put on four wheels, and hung on springs—sometimes drawn by one or two horses—much used by the ladies at Madras for airings or visitings.

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was unavailing; and having a lady with me, whose fears were excited, I paid the required amount: and, singular as it must appear, although I had a dozen rupees in my hand, the Bheels only levied one out of that number. At this time, I was travelling on duty from Kaira to Baroda, to make preparations at the barracks against the arrival of some king's troops, who were to join the native army, and a part of the Guicvar's* troops, in some military operations about to commence against some refractory chiefs in Guzerat and Kattywar: but it was a subsequent campaign to that mentioned in a former page, where my corps was employed alone.

Our mode of travelling this journey, in a sandy country, was in the Shigrumpo afore-mentioned. These are convenient vehicles, being hung on springs; they have sliding doors; and the two travellers, like as in a *vis-à-vis*, sit opposite each other. There is a well, or place for the legs, in the centre of the carriage; but this is usually covered over with cushions, and the parties lie at full length, or sit with their backs resting against a suspended pillow. In a flat and sandy country, like Guzerat, the journeys are often performed by night with

* This word literally implies a "cow-keeper;" but he is the prince of the fine country of Guzerat, and a member of the old Mahratta family. In the late war, he had the good sense to keep clear of the confederacy; and Major J. R. Carnac's exertions and services on that score cannot be too highly appreciated.

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celerity and ease. The cattle by which they are drawn are the large, bony, white Guzerat bullocks, which in that country are of a particularly large and fine breed; not so bulky as the English ox, but much taller and fleeter. The pair I had were an exact match in every point, trotted well, and were, when regularly worked, quiet animals. They cost me about 40*l.* sterling, which sum I had been repeatedly offered for them; and I at length parted with them on account of a scurvy trick they played. As the relation of it will not occupy much space, and it will illustrate the exemplary character of a woman—and that woman being no other than my wife, and the best friend I ever had—I trust I may, as I draw towards the conclusion of my book, insert it without giving offence.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Female Tenderness, Fortitude, and Affection—Cambay—Spring Tides—Bheel Districts—Anecdotes—Goands—Coolis—Encampment—Night Attack—Description of Ahmed-Nuggur—Pettah—Hindoos—Moghuls—Portuguese—Sir A. Wellesley—Interior of the Fort—Batteries—Guns—Inscriptions.

STATIONED in that fruitful, but then very sickly country, I was barrack-master of the province, and had become quite blind in both eyes with ophthalmia:—my wife nearly the same; and both, during the phases of the moon, labouring on alternate days under ague and fever: so that it became necessary to proceed to Bombay for change of air *. While at the presidency, the carriage was newly painted, and the oxen standing idle: they were brought out, in order to give them an airing, on the third day, when they both jumped over and cleared a stone wall, nearly five feet high. Two days afterwards, having their Hindoo driver,

* The population of the country, European and native, were labouring under the same disorder. My eldest child (now a very fine girl) was given over; and my youngest, not a year old, had leeches on both eyes every four or five days. Dr. West, who attended us, at last could not himself distinctly see, for ophthalmia. At this period there were twenty-two officers on the sea-coast at Cambay, out of thirty-five, suffering with fever and ophthalmia!

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whom they well knew and obeyed, and with the vehicle at their heels, I apprehended no danger. The beautifying of the machine being complete, I intended that my wife and two children should take an evening ride in that delightful island, Colaba. This she objected to, saying that the bullocks had better be exercised first. Happily was the suggestion uttered; for no sooner had the driver mounted his box, than off they started with the comparative fleetness of a race-horse, threw him, and broke his arm; then crossed the ferry road (it being low water), passing over rocks, and every thing that came in their way, in their progress to the island of Bombay; broke the Shigrumpo to pieces, and were the cause of much fear, and some mischief, to those who were taking their evening ride. Their freaks had caused them some injury, but a wealthy native gladly purchased them.

There is a solicitude and tenderness in the female character that causes them to see danger, and even to anticipate evil, that man, conscious of his own strength and power of mind, is blind to; or, if he does see it, he imagines the mischief to be less, and danger more improbable, than kind-hearted and affectionate woman.

I must here, also, relate another anecdote, whatever may be the consequences to my literary or antiquarian fame. The woman to whom I have been alluding equals, in maternal feelings, in *my*

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estimation, the mother of the Gracchi. Reader, you have never been in the Gulf of Cambay during the spring tides, and if you have any regard for your own safety or comfort, you will never go there; nor would I, could I have helped it; but my duty called me thither, and I had no just idea of that dangerous and frightful place. It is full of shifting sands; and the spring tides rush in from the sea with an inconceivable force, fury, and noise, than which nothing can be more horrific or alarming. The noise made by the approaching waters in quitting the great deep may be faintly likened to the very loudest thunder, and it tumbles into this great reservoir at a rate of not less than 8 or 9 miles an hour*.

At these awful periods (for it is at night they rise and rage most furiously), all nature appears heavy, sullen, and silent; not a breeze disturbs the waters in their impetuous and irresistible course; the full moon only tends to show the horrors and dangers of the scene; the vessel (Pattamars) will neither steer nor pull; hurried on by one frightful whirlpool into the vortex of another, she whirls about, and is driven along, regardless either of oars or helm. To anchor is impossible; for she would be buried in the overwhelming mass of waters. To sail is equally impracticable, for

* I have seen the water of the Ganges running at 10 knots, and my boat at that time half full of water: this was in a journey from Calcutta to Benares.

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want of wind; and even if there were any, the helm is utterly useless; and every foot you are impelled carries you only nearer to a sand-bank, which, if you touch, the boat goes over directly; the soundings in the *same minute* varying from fourteen fathoms to two fathoms. In this state were we, in a boat of about 70 tons, with many native passengers, and a guard of Siphauees, for nearly two nights and a whole day. At last, being in imminent danger, and seeing one Pattamar, out of a fleet of five, on a bank, it became necessary to take some precautions, in case of accident. One was, to load two of the Siphauees' muskets, in case of too many people rushing into the small boat, which towed a-stern; the next was, to secure my papers: and I intimated, in the best way I could (and, believe me, it was a trying communication, at two in the morning, with a beloved wife and two young children), to prepare for an escape, amidst this conflict of waters and sand. I desired my wife to take out of her boxes two or three valuable shawls, and a box of jewellery *. Her reply to me was, "Never mind that trash; I must look after the goat, and get some wood and a flint, to make a fire, and warm the children's milk." Few women would have shown so much presence of mind, or more maternal affection, at such a melancholy time. Our servants, male and female, were stupefied with fear, except my Parsee, who

* Worth about 350*l*.

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very philosophically sat in the stern of the small boat, with a loaded musket, to prevent any one entering without my permission: a service for which he volunteered; and there were military objections to thus employing the Siphauees.

These furious periods of the tide's approach and retreat lasted about the first quarter of each tide, when the violence and noise in some measure subsided; and we generally got in-shore for a short time before the returning tides commenced their fury: but the strength of the waters abated but little. I have known several persons shipwrecked: Captain Bond and Lieutenant De l'Etang, &c. Proceeding by the Gulf of Cambay is a saving of nearly 300 miles of journey: it can only be navigated at spring tides.—Having now given this little anecdote, three more will close our account of the Bheels: after which, we have only to mention the Mahratta princes, and give a description of the fortress of Ahmed-Nuggur; and then farewell to book-writing, with crippled hands, and with one eye blind, and the other impaired!

At one time, passing through a Bheel district, between the villages of Ittola and Meagaum, to avoid any alarm at night, or the probability of being plundered, I hired a Bhaut and two Bheels as a night guard. As it got towards evening, the Bhaut and one Bheel only arrived; the remaining one was shortly to follow them. At the usual hour I retired to my couch, perfectly secure from

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insult or depredation; nor had I taken any precautions to repel the one or protect me from the other, the security afforded by the Bheels being a sufficient guard against attack.

It being a hot night, I got up about one o'clock to enjoy the cool air outside of my tent. I had not stepped a few yards out when the Bheel on watch instantly and rudely seized me, exclaiming, What business have you there? This noise awoke the other two, who rushed to the spot. They, seeing who it was, informed the Bheel (for it was the man who arrived after I had gone to bed) of his mistake. He, hearing this, fell down with his face to the ground, beseeching me to place my foot on his neck and kill him. He then began, while prostrate, touching my feet with his forehead; nor would he quit his position until I forcibly withdrew myself into the tent, when the other Bheels pacified his feelings.

The other instance of the watchfulness, daring, and honour of the Bheels is as follows:—Major F. (afterwards my commanding officer) having some supplies coming to Baroda, in their journey they passed by a post where thirty-five of his own Siphauees were stationed: these men having just been relieved from that duty, they returned with the supplies, which were in charge of a Parsee servant. On the road they were met by the Bheels, who wanted the usual tribute for the bullocks. This exaction the Parsee, with the appro-

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bation of the Siphauees, refused to pay. Whether the Bheels found the party too strong for them, or had orders from their Rāj not to engage in any affray, I know not, but the party escaped without paying or being molested; and the Parsee did not a little pride himself on his address and achievement. Some considerable time after this period, Major F. and his wife, taking their evening ride, had gone beyond the prescribed limits of the British cantonment, and heedlessly were pursuing their course, when some Bheels came upon them, and claimed the money owing by the Parsee for himself and bullocks. Major F. having no rupees about him, they took him, his wife, horse, and vehicle together. After some consultation, and a promise, on the Major's part, to pay the tribute demanded, he and his lady were allowed to depart, and an agreement entered into to send seven rupees (the sum required) by a servant, unarmed and alone. This stipulation was carried into effect; and, at the appointed time and place, the cost was paid, and the gig and horse returned uninjured, with the Bheels' compliments.

Of the large tribes of plunderers, that, under different names, are found in most parts of India, an accurate history is much wanted; for though abstracting the property of others, and employing it to their own use, is the object of all, still they are distinct races, possessing singular customs, notions, and habits, of which we have no know-

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ledge. That much curious and original information regarding these numerous bodies might be gained by a competent person, who, speaking the peculiar dialect of the province, may have resided with or near them, and whose habits of thinking would influence him in forming an unprejudiced opinion, I have not the smallest doubt; but such cannot be expected from any person, however clever he may be in other respects, who obtains his information by means of speaking broken English to his domestic servant, who probably, like his master, coming from a distant kingdom, is equally ignorant of the provincial idiom; or who, if he is not, will in most cases, when interpreting, embody his own feelings and opinions in one half of what he translates.

There are, also, other subjects relating to India, to which I have, in the course of this narrative, called the attention of those who possess abilities, industry, and a local knowledge of the languages and people.

My knowledge of Bheels, Goands, Coolis, and others, is not sufficient to warrant my presuming to offer any thing like a *complete* account of them, which I much regret, but which I should regret infinitely more were I employed in writing a general notice of India. In such a case it has always been my decided opinion, that, when we say *this* or *that* has occurred, and *this* or *that* will take place, it is as well to inform the reader *why* and

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wherefore, or you leave him as much in the dark as he was before he looked to you for information, with a reasonable expectation of being gratified. I must now recur to the concluding anecdote respecting the Bheels.

On the arrival of my corps, about 800 strong, at the city of Baroda, we passed through it, and encamped about a mile from the lines of the subsidiary force, and nearly three miles from the city. We were cautioned, by those who had suffered on the spot from Bheels, against their depredations. The trunks belonging to each officer were chained together, and the chain fastened round his tent-pole. There being about two hundred of our Siphauees on guard round our camp that night, we apprehended no danger, and, in consequence, did not hire any Bhauts *, or the Bheels deputed by them, for our protection. When, as before stated, the precaution is taken, money, effects, and life are safe. It costs but a trifling sum—half a rupee for a man, or, when they keep a regular night-watch, two rupees for three.

On the first night no molestation occurred; and the next day (as is too often the case when we are in security) we grew a little careless, in opening

* A caste of Brahmans and itinerant bards, who have great influence with the Bheels, and go shares with them. From acting as priests, they have (near large cities) some power with the Bheel Rajahs; and their sacerdotal order is there held sacred.

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trunks, and making arrangements for a larger dinner-party that evening. Our servants also were getting careless, and laughing at the idea of a corps, having two hundred sentries mounted, being robbed by a few wretched, dastardly Bheels or Coolis; and, I believe, among ourselves such an idea was scouted: we thought ourselves valiant fellows, and fancied ourselves cunning ones.

Night came, and we sought our repose. Perhaps some few of us, from having drunk a little more than usual of "very good wine in very good company," slept rather soundly. Be that, however, as it may, when the morning broke forth every officer had been robbed, save one, and he had a priest (Bhaut) and a Bheel guard. Nor did the poor Siphauees escape; for, when they gave the alarm of Thief! Thief! they were sure to get a blow or wound in the leg or thigh from a Bheel lying on the ground, or moving about on all-fours wrapped in a bullock's hide or a sheep-skin, or carrying a bush before or over him; so that the sentries were deceived; and, if they fired, they were as likely to hit some of the women or children, or the followers, or the officers, as the Bheel himself; and, had they fired, the Bheel, in the dark, thus placed in a populous camp, had every advantage, his weapon making no noise, and his companions being ready to shoot the Siphauee through the head.

Most of the officers were up during the night,

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but their presence was useless. Lieutenant Burn did lay hands on a Bheel, but he literally slipped through his fingers, being naked, his body oiled all over, and his head shaved; and, on giving the alarm, one or two arrows were seen to have gone through the cloths of the tent. Were it possible to retain a hold of a Bheel, your motions must be as quick as lightning; for they carry the blade of a knife behind the ear, which is fastened round the neck by a string, and with which, if they find themselves in a dilemma, they will rip up the person holding them. Horses having long tails they take a great fancy to, and some of ours were gone the next morning, but they were of no great value.

To prevent these marauders from stealing our Arab horses, it was necessary to picket them by two long chains round the neck, which were extended and fastened to iron bolts about two feet long; these were driven firmly into the ground; and on the heads of the bolts or pegs, slept, at full length, the *syce*, or groom. We were in a fever all night; what with alarms, accidents, robberies, and not knowing which way to look or turn. My trunks they in vain attempted to move; they were securely chained, and on the top of them slept my Parsee servant, Jemserjee, a young man, who lived with me altogether for nearly eight years; and who was neither destitute of courage nor energy (as I have often experienced). Finding a Bheel at work, he awoke; when the Bheel instantly put his finger on

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his own mouth, showed his blade, and pointed to the Parsee, who lay quiet. I was all this while awake, and was in hopes the Bheel would approach close to my cot, under the pillow of which, grasped in my left hand, was a short, sharp hog-spear, which I intended, when an opportunity offered, to thrust into him. Tired with waiting, I at last moved a little, when he instantly darted out of the tent. My Parsee had been *enjoying a comfortable* cold sweat all the while, for he did not know of my being awake. When I asked him why he did not give an alarm, he sagaciously replied, "The Bheel would have ripped up my bowels before I could have spoken, and that would have been of no use to you or me, sir." It will be asked, why I did not fire my pistols? We had "positive orders not to use fire-arms." I was then a young man of twenty-two, and did not understand the political reasons assigned for this order. Myself and a Lieut. Godby had agreed to keep awake two hours each*, for the express purpose of trying to wound or seize a Bheel: his success was like mine; but we had both lost a few odd things, which were lying next the cooking and baggage tents. The corps marched the following day, and afterwards, when in Bheel districts, we hired a Bhaut and some

* Our tents were separate; for in India each officer has a tent to himself, the size according to his rank: a subaltern's is twelve feet square on the inside.

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Bheels, and took no more care of our property than if we were residing in a castle.

Ahmed-Nuggur is an ancient fortress, and gave name to a large district and the city, as far back as 1490, A. D. It formerly belonged to the Dekanhy sovereignty, and after the dispersion of the Bhamanee empire the country fell into the possession of Ahmed-Nizam Shah*, who gave it his name: he died in 1508. This much is certain, its name imports the "fortress of Ahmed." After the final extinction of the nominal sovereigns, in the person of Bahadur Shah, a youth taken and confined by the Mahomedans in the fort of Gualior, about 1603, this country, as well as Dowlutabad, was taken by Mirza Daniel, and reverted, as dependencies, to the imperial Moghul sovereignty at Delhi, and continued in their possession till the death of Aurungzebe; after which fatal event to Mahomedan power and influence it fell to the Mahrattas, and the Peishwa kept possession of this important place and valuable country, until he in his turn was driven out by Dowlut Row Scindiah in 1797. In 1803, during the Mahratta confederacy, it was taken by General Wellesley, and in the April following was restored by us to its old master the Peishwa. Scindiah having finally ceded the coun-

* My memoranda say, and which were collected on the spot, "Built by Ahmed Behri, a favourite officer of Mahomed Shah," a prince mentioned in the account of Dowlutabad.

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try, town, and fortress, later events, unnecessary here to dwell upon, have once more restored it to our possession.

This concise outline of its history will not, however, be satisfactory to the inquirer, nor creditable to my own labours; nor is it my method thus casually and imperfectly to dismiss a subject relating to the most important fortress in the Deccan, the possession of which has always given the native prince not merely the complete dominion in the Deccan, but the command of the surrounding countries; which, in my humble estimation, was of more importance to contending parties than Dowlutabad itself. However, being but a captain in the army, I do not wish to put my judgment or experience in competition with older and wiser heads than my own.

We will now again pursue our observations and researches, just premising that in obtaining them I caught a fever (as before-mentioned), that for many a weary hour afterwards shook my youthful but hardy frame.

The building of the fortress and digging the ditch cost nine lakhs of rupees (about 112,500*l.* sterling. The great Aurungzebe died here; and with him died the Moghul power in the Deccan.

The pettah, or town, stands about 1020 yards from the fort, and is surrounded by a very thick hedge of prickly pear, nearly eighteen feet high, and thick in proportion. This natural defence

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around towns and villages on the western side of India is very common, and it offers to a predatory body of horse or foot a formidable barrier; it will not burn; and from the stem and leaf not only are sharp and long thorns, but when broken off, a liquid exudes, that produces with the scratch a blister, or to the eyes or sores a severe inflammation. Goats are the only animals that appear regardless of its virulence, for they may be often seen standing on their hind legs, culling and chewing the tenderest plants, indifferent to either the thorns or the milk.

The city that formerly stood here is now dwindled into an insignificant town, which bids fair in the lapse of a few years to sink into a wretched hamlet. What could withstand the barbarous and desolating incursions of the former masters of the Deccan? Nothing but rock; and even that, it is said, Aurungzebe at Elora endeavoured to blow up with gunpowder, because it belonged to the Hindoos: while they, in return, did not fail to visit with destruction every thing that bore a Moghul name; and on the sea-coast, a European nation, the fanatical Portuguese, stepped in, and infamously copied the example of the heathen. They did not stop in simply blowing up, but defiled the temples of each; and by way of finale, in disseminating the religion of "peace and good will towards all men," they had recourse to that humane and benevolent institution, the "Holy Inquisition!"

I must, however, lest I fall into a literary inqui-

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sition, check these wanderings. We will, therefore, now enter the fort together; and it is as well to do it in a peaceable way, for few forts in Europe are better defended, or possess more certain means of destruction to those who offensively enter the walls than the fort of Ahmed. After passing by a drawbridge, leading over a broad and excellent ditch, there are two strong gates nearly situated at right angles: these passages are narrow, and placed between high stone walls, which enfilade them. From these the unseen defenders, by innumerable loopholes, would prick off the assailants below by dozens. In forcing these avenues the sharp angles of the entrance would expose the besieging party to utter destruction: nor is this all; the walls are supplied with ginjals, from which a destructive fire would be kept up, and the large hard baked earthen pots, containing powder and missiles, with lighted fuzees attached, would effectually complete the work of slaughter. The gates are not merely iron-bound, but large spikes project from the boards, upwards of two feet in length. No man would ever run his head into the lion's mouth, but attack him on his flank or rear; and even the practical illustration of this simile cost General Sir A. Wellesley, in his admirable attack of the town and fort (the former by escalade, and the latter by breach) the loss of four officers and twenty-five men killed, with three officers and one hundred and eight men wounded. The force under his command amounted

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to 8908. He had previously taken the town, which was well defended: but he speaks with admiration of the defence made, and of the bravery displayed by a body of Arabs who had the defence of the walls. The batteries had been playing for two days; and on the evening of the eleventh of August the killahdar surrendered, and marched out with his garrison, consisting of 1400 men. General Wellesley, in his public despatches, conceives it to be one of the strongest forts in this part of India; and, excepting the fort of Vellore, in the Carnatic, the strongest he had ever seen*. It has always been considered as a place of importance, and situated very advantageously either for offensive operations or as a place of retreat. Its vicinity to the capital of the Mahratta empire, and to the cities of Aurungabad and Visiapore, and its central situation between the Mogul and Mahratta countries, have always rendered it a place of consideration. Acbar, Aurungzebe, and his brothers, the king of Visiapore and Sevajee, have alternately attacked it, and have experienced its protection and strength. Of late days Scindiah improved the works, and put a strong garrison in it during his Poona campaign.

* I very respectfully presume to coincide in the above opinion. I was there on duty in 1809, and inspected the works very closely; and, during the same year, marched to Bangalore, which is a strong fortress likewise. From thence I proceeded to that astonishing and singular hill-fort called Chittle-Droog.

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On passing the gates of a large round tower, or keep, the interior of the fort has an oval appearance, and contains a large area, with many store-houses, native buildings of no inconsiderable beauty and size, with the remains of a palace, some pools of water, a few trees, and huts for the garrison; and beneath are large vaults for stores. Ascending to the bastions, and proceeding round the fort by the breast-work and ramparts, which enclose the area, the wall averages from twenty feet to fourteen feet in height; and this paved way is in general four feet broad. Proceeding round by the above-mentioned walk I found the circumference of the fort to be 5349 feet. It has twenty-four bastions, but they are not placed equi-distant: a few of them have three embrasures, most have five, and some have six. The flag-staff battery nearly faces the inner gate of the fort, and has an ascent on either side of a few steps. It is larger than the other bastions, and, by way of distinction, named the Allumguire battery (so called after Aurungzebe).

From the angles of this battery the length is one hundred and twenty-three feet; from the centre embrasure to the inner part of the wall the breadth is sixty-three feet, and above the area of the fort the works are nearly twenty-five feet. The centre battery is a few steps higher than any of the others. This battery is capable of mounting twenty guns. From the upper part of the embrasure to the bed of the ditch it cannot be less than a depth of seventy

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feet. The whole of this work is of good substantial masonry; the walls are thick, and composed of the best materials. A favourite brass* gun of Aurungzebe stands in the centre of the bastion. This piece is twenty-one feet long; outside of the chamber it is seven feet in circumference; the bore is ten inches and a half; the carriage is strongly made, and the gun is secured to it by two heavy chains that pass over the barrel. The calibre of the gun is a fourteen-pounder. There is reason to think that some years back the gun acted upon a swivel. Near this part of the battery are a few fine little brass six-pounders, made under the direction of Scindiah. The carriages are light and very well finished; the elevated screws are not inferior to those of British manufacture. From a view of affording interest to my readers, I here subjoin the inscription: the lines are neatly hammered or beat in on the barrel. It is in the Persian character.

"This gun was made in the year Hijree (Higera) 1212, at Ougein, in commemoration of a victory achieved by the Māhā Rājā, Dowlut Rao Scindiah Behauder (and to this is added as an adjunct) Sri, Nath, Sahib."

* I have seen iron guns in the Soondah country above the G'hāts, in Malabar, thirty feet long, perfectly straight, and made of nothing more than bars of iron fitted together and strongly secured with iron hoops. The well-known gun at Agra weighs 1090 cwt. As old brass it is valued at 7000*l*.

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A few brass mortars of excellent workmanship are likewise placed in the battery; these are of French manufacture: their chambers are well wrought: for handles they have dolphins carved on the upper part of the barrel. On the wall of this bastion, and as you descend into the interior of the fort, some very large Arabic characters are cut in the stone, and are close to the steps by which the Allumguire battery is ascended. Not having any accurate knowledge of that character, the copy which I took I find is imperfect in a few letters; this explanation is necessary for my own credit, and I must further add, the inscription by exposure to the weather is somewhat defaced. No inducement could prevail on me to give an imperfect or unfaithful translation. The characters are upwards of an inch in length.

As this battery is of a considerable elevation, the view of the country and plains is fine and picturesque, and a number of Mahomedan buildings are seen. The village of Binjer has a rural appearance; in the rear of it are some hills, and on the brow of one stands a singular-looking stone building.

The imperial mausoleum, in which it is said the heart of the Emperor Aurungzebe is deposited, appears not far distant; but these objects will be mentioned in due time. Leaving the Allumguire battery, a flank one of lesser dimensions commu-

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nicates with it on each side by a few steps. The whole of the rampart wall is lined with loop-holes cut obliquely, enfilading the batteries, so that in a time of siege the assailants would be greatly annoyed. The wall in thickness is five feet and a half, built of very compact and durable workmanship. The bastions differ somewhat in their size, and most of them have guns still mounted. These are of various calibre and manufacture: some of them are after the old Mahratta construction, bars of iron strongly and closely hooped together; others were made by Scindiah. One gun in particular must be mentioned, a thirty-two pounder, the work of the industrious and once opulent Hollander. From the havoc it made, and the quickness with which it was fired during our late assault, it obtained the distinctive name of *Whisky*. It has an inscription engraven on it, of which the following is a copy, cut in capitals:

DEVERENICHDE
OOSTINDESCSHE
COMPANGENI TOT ROTTERDAM
No. 4068. ARENT VANDER PVT
ME FECIT. Anno 1621.

On the upper part of the gun is a ship cut in the brass: it is after the marine architecture of the early part of the seventeenth century; low in the fore part of the vessel—a prow or beak projecting forward—no mizen-top-sail or yard—a high stern, and no top-gallant yards. The representation is

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very well preserved and correctly finished. This stands on the seventeenth bastion, the embrasures of which show many marks of having been severely played upon during the siege of 1803. In another bastion is a gun of Portuguese manufactory with this motto:

IERONIMOTAVA
RESBOCARRO 1621 *Anno.*
SENDO GOVERNADOR
ECAPITAM GERAL
INDIA
ANTONIOPAES
DESANDE.

The arms of Portugal and the Cross * accompany these lines; a mighty inscription for a Captain-General of India, whose conquests never extended beyond the G'hāts. The same parade and show are still kept up by the Portuguese in India as when in the zenith of their power†, or when their name was dreaded and their power

* The early Portuguese navigators had always the cross stamped on their sea biscuits.

† On our late march into Guzerat we passed within three miles of the Portuguese city of Damaun, and as we halted there, an invitation was sent by us to the Governor and his principal officers. His Excellency the Governor declined, his orders not permitting him to leave his command. A more gentlemanly man in manners and appearance I have not met with among the Portuguese nation. During our visit to his palace he treated us with marked civility and respect. His staff-officers, who dined with us, showed that they were loyal good fellows. Before the cloth

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feared from the Gulf of Cutch down to the Gulf of Manar. A small brass gun, dismounted, is lying among some old stores: it was made in the reign of Charles the Second. The inscription is too much defaced to be deciphered.

was removed, they began singing "God save the King," which, in broken English and Portuguese together, had a curious effect. Many loyal toasts were drank on both sides; and as the glass passed round rather freely, loyalty and patriotism were the order of the day. Now and then the harmony of an Italian air or Portuguese duet was imperfectly heard. I believe the Signiors went away contented, for most of them had sacrificed largely at the shrine of Bacchus.

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CHAPTER XXV.

Great Britain—Chand Bebee—Interior of Ahmed-Nuggur—Salabaat Khan's Tower—Savajee and Descendants—Peishwas—Battle of Paniput—Raganath—Nana Furnavese—Holkar—Scindia—Peishwa—Sir A. Wellesley—Battles at Poona and Nagpore—Author's Departure from Ahmed-Nuggur—Personal Narrative—An Etymologist—Panwell.

As we contemplate the changes which have taken place in this part of India, where the Persians, the Moghuls, and Mahrattas, have by turns had the ascendancy, they remind us of the revolutions caused by Buonaparte in Europe. Looking at the English, from their first settlement at Surat down to the present day, our gaining the superiority over the Portuguese, Dutch, and the French, after many hard struggles, in which our native valour and policy appear equally conspicuous, we cannot but wonder at the almost incredible stretches of power made by a nation whose present state and population is scarcely a tenth part of those she has subjugated in India alone. These numerous millions are treated with a mild but firm rule, and are a docile and loyal people. Thus have we permanently established a mighty empire upon the basis of security. Nor did we stop here; for while conciliating and protecting our millions in

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India, we were punishing millions in Europe for their bad conduct or treachery. It is wonderful to a thinking mind to see how these astonishing events have been brought to pass by a small country like England; but how gratifying is it, in these almost incredible exertions and extension of power, to see Great Britain still rich and prosperous, and none of her rivals having it in their power to charge her with baseness or ingratitude. Did not the rescue of Spain appear a Quixotic enterprise? but the same general who took Ahmed-Nuggur saved Spain *. England, England, thou hast rescued many countries, conquered many, punished many, and art still feared by all!

This digression is occasioned by Charles having married the Infanta of Portugal, by which said marriage we got Bombay, and Ahmed-nuggur this brass gun, no doubt. How this said gun came from Bombay to Ahmed-nuggur is for the reader to find out. In the arsenal are several old pieces of ordnance, and a variety of military stores, both old and new. The interior of the fort is much oc-

* A curious historical coincidence occurs to me here. Sir A. Wellesley restored the Peishwa to power: he did the same for the dethroned Ferdinand in Spain. Misfortune did not teach the former prudence, and it is problematical whether Ferdinand has benefited by the reverses he experienced. The Peishwa, in due season, tasted the effects of his impolicy and baseness: whether his brother in Spain has such a fate awaiting him, time will develope.

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cupied by buildings, either intended for residences or public offices. The remains of the palace of Chand Bebee * are still sufficient to show that when in their original splendour they were a fine pile of buildings. The gothic arches and the ceilings are very highly finished; the quartering of the ceiling into a variety of angles and curves has a very pretty effect; and some paintings in a minaret adjoining the palace are very well executed. Suites of rooms may be traced running parallel from the minaret. In front are some fountains which still throw up water conveyed by aqueducts from a distance of two miles or more. The bathing place for the women of the harem is easily known by its having only a sky-light on the top in the middle of the roof to admit light; and leaden pipes run in different directions through the wall of the room. The well into which the heroic and offended Chand Bebee threw herself, after her husband had stormed the walls and carried the breach, is now filled up, but it is easy to be discerned by the pretty gothic arches that surround it.

The next building of any consequence is the Killahdar's † house; in which there is an irregular

* This name, in a general figurative sense, signifies "Lady of the Moon:" she was as much distinguished for her virtue as for her beauty, and would not survive the infidelity of her husband, who, during his campaign, had wandered a little from the paths of celibacy with one of a low caste.

† This is now occupied by the officers attached to the Seroor

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range of apartments on the ground floor. On the upper floor the rooms are commodious, and have communication with each other by galleries or passages; but they partake much of that heaviness which we often meet with in Asiatic buildings. In the front of them is a neat little garden; at the farther end of which, and in front of one of the virandas, plays a fountain. As this is beneath one of the best apartments, and at the end of one of the avenues that lead through the garden, having a few cypress trees on each side, it gives a pleasing appearance to the scenery. The inner gateway of the fort is said to have been built by a fakeer, who sat on the spot, and by the donations of those that passed into the fort collected money sufficient to build the gateway and the arch that is over it. The best apartments were inhabited by the British officers here on detachment, and to whom I shall ever feel indebted for many acts of hospitality received at their hands. The detachment consisted of three companies of Siphauees, which, in the then peaceable state of the adjoining districts, was supposed sufficient for its protection. In 1707 Aurungzebe died here at the advanced age of ninety. His *heart* is said to have been placed in an urn and deposited in a mausoleum very near to this place: it is rather a small building, has a tower at each

force, and stationed in the fort. I enjoyed many social happy hours in their company, for every thing about is romantic in appearance, and rich in historic lore.

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angle, is lighted up constantly, and perfumes are burnt in it by day and night. Twenty-four fakeers are attached to the building, who watch the lamps, and offer up their orisons for the soul of the deceased emperor. The building is very inferior to what would be expected for so great a monarch as Aurungzebe; in fact, it has nothing to recommend it, either in materials or design.

After visiting this repository of departed greatness, I went to the Feroka-baug*, which is a beautiful retreat. The gardens have been in former times very prettily laid out, but are now wild and desolate. On an artificial island is a neat little building after the usual Mahomedan style of architecture.

The next novelty, and one that is particularly worthy of the traveller's observation, is a large hollow stone edifice, of an octagon figure, standing upon a high hill in the rear of the fort. It is intended to commemorate the memory of Sálabaät Khan, who built it as a sepulchre for himself. Having, however, incurred the displeasure of the emperor, by exactions, while in charge of the country about Ahmed-nuggur, he poisoned himself, having first asked his wife if she would die with him. Her good sense, and relish for the pleasures of this world (being a Mussulmanee), made her,

* Baug signifies a garden, and it is not an improbable conjecture that Feroka may be an abbreviation of Ferokesheer, the emperor.

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with much humility, decline Salabaat's affectionate and good-natured proposition. One of his favourite concubines immediately coincided with his wishes; and they are said to have died at nearly the same moment: their tombs are in a vault underneath the building. It is easily seen that one of these tombs belongs to a female*. A tomb likewise of the same kind is outside, and which is supposed to contain the remains of the obdurate and unaccommodating wife.

It *is said* by many, that the building was erected as a kind of tower. From its commanding height it embraces a view of an immense distance, taking in the cities of Dowlutabad and Aurungabad: however, this appears impossible, as there is a g'hāt of a considerable height intervening. At the period that I visited the building, the atmosphere was very hazy; but even with a clear horizon, the view in that quarter is very much intercepted. The steps by which you proceed to the roof of the building wind up through the wall, a space being left between the stones: they are very steep, are seventy-two in number, and in two places they finish, leading out by apertures or doors to two stone

* The tomb of a male or female among the Mahomedans is distinguished by the former having on the top of the tomb, and generally in the centre, a small round piece of chunam-work, about eight inches long and three in height; whereas the tomb of the female on the upper part is plain, and divested of this distinguishing mark.

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galleries, with large windows, which encompass the building on the inside. The stones which form the lower part of the frames of the windows are at least fourteen feet long, and of an immense thickness. From the height that these galleries are from the ground, it must have required tackling and scaffolding of no ordinary kind to lift such prodigious weights. Quitting the galleries, and proceeding up the stone stair-case, between the walls, an entrance leads to the roof*. From this part the view is delightful, and very extensive; embracing a complete prospect of the town and fort of Nuggur, a few villages, number of Mahomedan buildings of various descriptions, some fine rich tracts of cultivation, the river Soona, and many water-courses, which give to the scenery a very interesting and lively appearance.

The upper part of the building is of the same massy stone as the lower parts; it is a fine free blue stone, and I believe it was brought from a considerable distance. The whole of the edifice is in a perfect state, and may be compared to a very large-domed, high, and substantial stone tower, which in all probability will yet stand the test of centuries. I was detained here two days longer than my intention, owing to a return of the fever, attended

* I had two views (drawings) of the building and country, but they were among those lent to the late Surveyor-General, Colonel C. Mackenzie; and when I left India, I had no intention of proceeding farther than the Cape.

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with uncommon heat and weakness; this had taken hold of me by reason of having again frequently changed my situation from extreme heat to cold and damp, in entering some of the large aqueducts, or penetrating subterranean passages, where the confined and unwholesome vapours produced too great a transition for one who had been exposed the greater part of the day to the rays of a glowing, powerful sun.

Before our final departure from Ahmed-nuggur, I intend redeeming my pledge, in offering a few concise notices of the Satarah Rajahs, and of the succeeding usurpation of the Peishwas.

Poona, though not so large as Nagpore, is allowed by the natives to be the most ancient city of the Mahratta empire, and founded by Sevajee*. This brave, daring, and fortunate chief, who originally inherited only the small principality of Satarah (which descended to him in right of his father), after contending with the victorious and veteran troops of Aurungzebe, in the Deccan, and the troops of the Portuguese, below the G'hāts, at times from Travancore to Surat, finally succeeded, after various hard struggles, in establishing the Mahratta empire upon a firm and prosperous basis; and in which were comprehended the countries of Baglana, Visiapour, Ahmed-nuggur, and

* His father was a commander in the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah, then Prince of Beejapour. This family may be traced back to the Rana of Oudipoor.

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the Concan; while he continued to govern his newly-acquired dominions, and the hordes of predatory and warlike subjects, with great ability, as Rajah of Satarah. From this extraordinary and enterprising chief's conquests sprung the families of Holkar, Scindiah, Ragojee Bhoonsla, Ballajee, and the Guicvar. As rewards for their respective services and assistance, valuable jaghires were given to them, which they extended either by conquest or intrigue. Seveajee's death happened in 1680; and he was succeeded by his son Sembajee, who was assassinated by Aurungzebe, after a reign of nine years*. To him succeeded Sabjee, or Sahogee, in 1690, who reigned with great success for fifty years; and to him succeeded his son (in 1740), Ram Rajah. This prince, who possessed neither the understanding nor courage of his father, and who omitted to seize favourable opportunities, as his father had always done, was at-

* When Sembajee was brought before Aurungzebe, he offered him life and rank in his service if he would turn Mahomedan; he answered by an invective against the Prophet, and the land of his own gods. On which he was dressed in the fantastic dress and ornaments of a wandering Indian devotee; in this garb he was tied, backwards, upon a camel, and led through the camp, calling on all the Rajpoots he saw to kill him; but none dared. After the procession, his tongue was cut out, as the penalty of blaspheming Mahomet. In this dreadful condition, Aurungzebe offered him his life if he would be converted to Islamism: when he wrote—"Not if you would give me your daughter in marriage."

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tacked by the Mahomedans on the one hand, and beset by internal disturbances on the other; while a still greater misfortune awaited him in the person of his prime minister, who he had supposed was his best and most trusty servant. Bajee Rao, the minister or Peishwa, knew the weakness of his master, and the difficulties which surrounded him, from external foes, and the want of talents to conduct public affairs. He therefore determined to wrest the territories acquired by Sevajee out of the hands of his descendant.

Bajee Rao persuaded Ram Rajah, by artifice, and apparent disinterestedness of conduct, of the necessity of his retiring from the busy affairs of state, and entrusting them into *his hands*, with the title of Peishwa, or supreme minister. In this he succeeded; and Ram Rajah retired from the troubles of state affairs to his palace at Satarah. In the mean time Bajee Rao (the new prince) displayed his deep intrigue and vigilance by strengthening his friendship with military commanders, whose assistance, he found, might be advantageously employed. On the death of Bajee Rao, which was antecedent to that of Ram Rajah, he was succeeded by his son, Balliajee Rao, who went still farther than his father; for he not only persuaded the unfortunate and aged Ram Rajah to keep entirely away from every public concern, but he assumed every *insignia* of *independent* government. From motives of policy, and to save

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appearances, he received the dress of honour (Mookhya Pradhan) from the Rajah of Satara, and occasionally paid him visits of state, as the nominal sovereign of the Mahratta empire.

Two principal causes may be assigned for the downfall of Sevajee's* family, and the elevation of the present Peishwa's. Ballajee Rao was still more politic and enterprising than even his father Bajee Rao. Ram Rajah, with many constitutional vices, possessed neither the ability nor judgment of either his father, or his ancestor Sevajee. These two causes uniting, soon confirmed the Peishwa in unlimited authority and independent government. In the mean time, the Mahratta† families already mentioned, and whose influence and power commenced in the time of Sevajee, had not been either inactive or unsuccessful. They were still too weak to shake off their allegiance to the Peishwa; or, more correctly speaking, to the Rajah of Satarah, who nominally was supposed to be the prince of the country, and directed the Mahratta affairs.

Ballajee Rao died in 1759. As nothing was to be dreaded either from the will of Ram Rajah of Satarah, or from the power of the Mahratta chieftains, Ballajee, his son, succeeded to the Peishwaship without opposition.

* Probably from *Siva* and *Jee*.

† Mahratta, from *Maha Rashtra*.

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About this period, the Mahratta empire had risen to a height of power that made the royal house at Delhi tremble. Nothing less than the universal dominion of India, and a government purely Hindoo, would satisfy the Mahrattas. The internal commotions, and the distracted state of affairs, at the court of Delhi, rendered such a project not improbable or very difficult. Abdalla, of Cabul, who had, in 1747-8, seized on the eastern part of Persia, or Candahar, from his great resources, and a brave army, had established himself nearer to Delhi. This man, whose victories the Mahomedans could not withstand, determined, after his last visit to Delhi (where he seated on the throne Jewan Bucht, son of Shah Allum, as emperor), in 1761, to give the Mahrattas battle; on the issue of which would depend whether Hindoostan was to be governed by Mahomedans or Hindoos. Every thing was at stake. The millions of people between the Indus and the Brahmapooter rivers, on the east and west, and from Ceylon to the mountains of Thibet, looked with fear on the result and future consequences of this battle. The Mahrattas, with their allies, the Jats*, brought into the field 250,000 men. The Mahomedans, with the Rohillas, amounted to 180,000 men. Abdalla fought with a furious determination either to perish or beat the Hindoos. The

* A brave race of men, in the northern part of India. Their name implies caste, or sect.

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latter, from their late conquests, had prided themselves upon their successes; for they had spread a mighty empire by their arms, in a short period of time unknown in the annals of Asia. The Mussulmans fought for what they had in possession and gained by conquest; the Hindoos for dominion and plunder. It is mentioned, that the Jats deserted the cause, and victory declared for Abdalla, after a dreadful and bloody carnage. The Mahrattas lost the best of their army and officers. This signal defeat was more severely felt, as they had fancied themselves certain of victory wherever they went; and the inflated pride and vanity of the Bhow made him reject all advice. The fatal battle was fought on the plains of Panniput*. Since this period, the grand confederacy has been broken by the Mahratta chieftains, all of whom have acted independently of the Rajah of Satarah, and of the Peishwa.

Soon after this battle Ballajee died. He was succeeded by his son, Madha Rao. This Peishwa died in 1772. To him succeeded Narain Rao, who was murdered by his uncle, Ragobah†, in the following year. The widow of Narain Rao produced a boy shortly after this event, in 1774, who was named Madha Rao. His whole administration was governed by his friend, Nana Fur-

* Literally, Place of Waters, or the Sources of Waters.

† More properly called Ragonath.

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navese, for the space of twenty-five years. Nana had removed the succeeding heir to the Peishwaship, Bajee Rao, one of the sons of Ragobah, to the fort of Jumeer, where he was confined with his brother, Appa Rao. On Scindia's avowing his sentiments to release Bajee Rao, and place him on the musnud, Nana, anticipating Scindia's intentions, and wishing to have the merit of it himself (which he found it impossible to avoid), sent Purseram Bhow for that purpose. Nana Furnavese, finding Scindia still his enemy, shut himself up in the fort of Satarah with 8000 men. A few days after this, Bajee Rao was invested with the Peishwaship. Ragobah's endeavours to succeed had proved unavailing; nor did his treaty with the English, in 1777, benefit his cause.

From the year 1781-2, when the general treaty was signed between the Mahratta powers and us, till 1789, nothing of any very great importance took place between the English and the Peishwa. In 1790, we find the Peishwa taking a part with us in the war against Tippoo. During this period, Mahajee Scindia, the adopted father of the present Dowlut Rao, had not been neglectful of his own interest: he had increased his territories, his revenues, and alliances. After his death, in 1794, Dowlut Rao Scindia followed up the line of policy pursued by his father with skill and courage. Holkar had not been inattentive to the usurpations and influence of the Poona court: whether

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fearing the safety of his own dominions, or jealous of a family who had, like his own, built their greatness on the downfall of the Satarah Rajahs, is of little importance. He was able to cope with the united forces of Scindia and the Peishwa; and had it not been for the aid afforded by the British to the confederate troops of Scindia and Bajee Rao, in all probability a great revolution and overthrow would have taken place among the native powers. Holkar's army were flushed with success; were led on by a number of European adventurers; and had a good treasury to assist their movements. On the 25th of October, 1802, the combined forces met with Holkar, and he gave them a complete defeat. He now became master of Poona. The Peishwa fled to a strong fortress named Mharr, in the Concan. This place he quitted, and sought refuge at Severn Droog, which is on the sea-coast. From thence, on the 16th of December, he moved to the fort of Bassein, attended by thirty-three followers only. Holkar, after he got possession of Poona, met with no resistance; and he placed Amrut Rao in the guddee, or chair of state, as Peishwa.

On the morning of this memorable defeat, Bajee Rao tendered, by the hands of his minister, an earnest wish that an alliance might be entered into between him and the British; and that, for the assistance afforded him by a subsidiary force of six battalions of native infantry, he would pay

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300,000*l.* sterling*. Scindia at the same time solicited aid, and pointed out his intention. These inducements, together with Holkar's known bad faith and ambitious views, made the English consult their own interest, as well as that of the Peishwa. As early as the following month (November), we find that the same energies and good faith which have made us masters of India were again pursued, and that conciliatory system by which we remain masters was adopted with success.

In the beginning of November, we find General Stuart, with 18,998 men, was ready to take the field. The allied forces of the Nizam and the Rajah of Mysore were put in requisition, under the command of Colonel Stevenson, a man of tried abilities. In 1803, General Wellesley (since so proudly distinguished for military talent, zeal, and activity) entered the Mahratta territories. Holkar had left Poona, and had taken post at Chandore, leaving his new-made Peishwa, Amrut Rao, in the capital, with 1500 men only. Information having been given, that Amrut, previously to the arrival of the British forces, intended to plunder and burn the city, and then make good his retreat, General Wellesley, in consequence of this intelligence, made a forced march of 60 miles, over a rugged

* From this politic measure, the federal states were completely separated; and the Peishwa, the Bhonsolo, the Guicvar, Scindia, and Holkar, were distinctly recognised.

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country, in 32 hours. This movement gave hopes to those few that remained in the city; for they knew that, under the British protection, their families, their lives, and property, were secured to them. Amrut Rao had been taken by surprise by the rapid movement made by the British; for, when apprised of their approach, he quitted the city, leaving it unmolested.

On the 27th of April, the Peishwa left Bassein, and arrived at Poona on the 13th of May. Scindia, after his defeat by Holkar, assembled a still greater force, and endeavoured to reconcile himself with that prince. This part of the subject, however, is foreign to my purpose; my intention having been, to endeavour to give some account of the Peishwa and his ancestors*.

This brief, and, I believe, accurate outline of the history of the Peishwa, will be sufficient. The late baseness and treachery of the Peishwa, in opposing the British, his early and best friends, cannot be too much execrated. He not only attacked the English, but he excited Holkar, Appah Sahib†, and others, to join; and, as Peishwa, he

* I am informed, that a valuable and interesting work, concerning the Mahratta empire, has been lately published, from the pen of Mr. Scott Waring.

† The Bhonsolo, or Nagpore Rajah. The desperate and hard-fought battle at Sita Buldee in Nagpore, and the battle at Kirkee, near Poona, must be fresh in the recollection of the public; nor can they forget the defeat of Holkar at Mhaheidpore, by Generals Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm.

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headed the late Mahratta confederacy. But what power could stand against the wise and vigorous measures pursued by the British, or against the courage and fidelity of the native troops, directed by the consummate talents and address of such highly-gifted individuals as Mr. Elphinstone at Poona, and Mr. Jenkins at Nagpore*?

Notwithstanding my being so shattered by the fever, my corps being ordered on service was a stimulus to prosecute my journey. On quitting Ahmed-Nuggur my friends accompanied me some distance, and in due time I arrived again at Poona not much the worse for wear. I might give some notices of the city, but have been informed it has been well done in a recent publication, entitled "Fifteen Years' Residence in India," so that I forego any narrative; besides, another opportunity will most probably occur for embodying the whole of my adventures, observations, and opinions, from the year 1804, when I first went out as a midshipman to China, till the present period, when a Captain in the 4th Regiment of Bombay Native In-

* Of the former, the Edinburgh Review observes—"Mr. Elphinstone being indisputably at the head of the Company's civil service, in political talent and knowledge."—No. L. p. 404. Mr. Jenkins's long and successful administration of the affairs of a country not much smaller than England, in the most arduous and trying times, the official records in India will abundantly prove.

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fantry. I think I shall entitle it, "Travelling Memoranda for Twenty Years." From having served in four different Staff situations—being employed under the orders of the three several Presidencies, and in most of the numerous countries dependent thereon—acting also (as second in command) in the army of a native prince—and having maintained a correspondence with many intelligent persons—to which I may add, having kept a regular diary from 1804, with every public and private letter or document I have received—some little information of an instructing, interesting, and authentic kind, it is believed, may be produced. In short, should my health compel me to remain, this and some other vocation I must pursue for a subsistence, as my half-pay, after fifteen years' active service, will be utterly insufficient to support a wife and five children in England. If, on the other hand, my health should permit my returning to India (which I sincerely hope it will), during the voyage out writing my "Travelling Memoranda," and the study of the Sungscrit language, will be pleasing and useful occupations.

After this melancholy digression, for such it certainly is to an enterprising and ardent mind, I will endeavour to enliven my concluding pages with an anecdote relating to Panwell, where I safely arrived, as many other British travellers have done before and since, and will continue to

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do as long as we respect the religious institutes, the immemorial customs, and established prejudices of the natives, who *now* respect and fear us.

On my return to Bombay, a number of inquiries were made regarding my journey, but particularly respecting the temples at Elora; for these, even in Bombay, were then but little known. Among my inquirers was a gentleman, who, to some smattering of knowledge, added a very good stock of conceit; this latter, acting upon not the soundest understanding in the island, caused him often to make deductions, and utter dogmatical conclusions on any abstruse subject, equally remote from common sense and the well-founded opinion of others: in short, he had the misfortune to be an inveterate etymologist, nor were the poles too far distant for his fertile and discursive imagination to wander, in seeking for an explanation or meaning. My motive in deceiving his judgment was solely with the view of bringing down his inflated vanity on oriental subjects, which had really, notwithstanding many amiable traits in his character, made him (*Derivative*) an intolerable bore. Panwell promised a good name for his favourite science; and, after much circumlocution, I told him I had had the luck to discover the signification of the word. Here he looked profound—gave a complacent smile—and when I added he might use it as his own, the hint having originally come from him, he rubbed his hands with delight, and I

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became (of course) one of the best fellows in the world. The story ran thus: When we, under Mr. Boddam, formed a depôt at Panwell, in one of the houses of the town we found an old well covered over and dried up; supposing some treasure might be concealed, it was cleansed out, and at the bottom of the well was found a bag of Roman coins deposited in an old Roman fryingpan, made of copper; that the name of the place being difficult for the European soldiers to pronounce, they, in commemoration of the event of landing there, and finding the coins and pan, together with the difficulty of pronouncing the original country name, unanimously agreed to call the place Pan-Well.

In a few days the above was in print, well told, with this addition—that a Roman galley was chased into Bombay harbour by a pirate, that the Romans landed, formed a colony at (the place now called) Panwell, and afterwards proceeded across the country to the northward, where, between Broach* and the Indus, lay some detachments belonging to the Roman legions!

When, two or three years afterwards, I undeceived my friend, he waxed wroth, and our friendship since has been as distant as some of his fanciful derivations are from their true meaning.

* The ancient Barygaza—the river Sinde, or Sindus.

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APPENDIX.

I am not quite satisfied in my own mind but that literary men and competent judges will accuse me of rashness in publishing a work on Indian subjects, and censure me for the freedom with which I have offered my opinions. An impression, I know exists, in many liberal and well-informed minds that *fighting* is a soldier's business, not *writing*. To explain my motives and soften any asperity of remark, I beg to premise that my time in India has not been idly or unprofitably employed, which I believe the annexed official letters will satisfactorily prove; and that my attention to my public duties as a military man has not been neglected, the circumstance of having filled the Staff situations of Barrack-master, Adjutant, Military Secretary, and, lately, second in command of a *regular* Battalion at Nagpore, will probably satisfy all doubts. My only motive in introducing the following public letters is to show that I am supposed to possess some little practical knowledge of India.

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No. 1.

21st Dec. 1810.

DEAR SIR,

I now do myself the pleasure to return your Book of Roads, which his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has looked over with much satisfaction.

He desires me to signify his request to be furnished with a MS. copy, whenever you may have completed it, to lay before the Honourable the Governor in council, as he considers it highly useful, and would be glad to be in possession of the copy as soon as may be convenient.

I am, &c.

W. E. GREGORY,
Military Secretary.

Ensign Seely, Surat.

No. 2.

Bombay, August 8, 1811.

SIR,

THE Honourable the Governor has perused with satisfaction your remarks upon Arrowsmith's Map of India, and has desired me to express to you his wish that you would afford him a copy of the *whole* of them, which he thinks highly creditable to your talent for Indian research, and the ability you have evinced upon the subject.

I am, &c.

A. AITCHESON*,
Captain and Military Secretary.

Ensign Seely, Palyad-Kattywar.

* Capt. Aitcheson, after filling several important situations with distinguished credit, is now military auditor-general.

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No. 3.

SIR,

I AM favoured with your MS. book relating to the "Early Settlements of the Portuguese in India, and their present State." These remarks display a disposition for inquiry, and a desire to inform yourself, which are highly laudable, and *cannot fail to lead to your eventual benefit*, as well as to afford your mind an immediate gratification.

Viewing the Notices as a private document, I have felt a good deal at a loss in what manner to recompense* the trouble it has occasioned you. Perhaps you will allow me to subscribe (for one copy) the accompanying sum, in *advance*, for your "Itinerary of India," whenever it may be in a sufficiently complete state to induce you to publish it.

I am, sir,
Your wellwisher,
and very obedient servant,
GEORGE BROWN†.

4th Dec. 1812, Government-House.

To Ensign John B. Seely.

No. 4.

Barrackpore, August 13, 1812.

SIR,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General to acquaint you that his lordship accepts with satisfaction

* No officer under five years' service can hold a staff situation except that of adjutant or aid-de-camp.

† Governor of Bombay, after thirty-four years' service in India. The sum he presented to me for a MS. copy was five hundred rupees, equal to the value (had I published it) of 50 copies.

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your offer of addressing your intended publication of Indian Antiquities * to his lordship.

Lord Minto has carefully perused the whole, and requests that his name may be put down as a subscriber for twenty-five copies.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. W. TAYLOR,
Military Secretary, &c.

To Ensign Seely.

No. 5.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE to thank you for the inspection of the MSS., which are good specimens of your talents for research and

* I was at this time a student at the College of Fort William. At the time the above letters were written I was personally unknown to these officers; nor had I a friend or line of introduction to make even my name known. The Indian Antiquities alluded to were the excavated Temples and Dwellings at Elora, Karli, Elephanta, and those already mentioned in Salsette. I must relate an anecdote of that excellent and wise statesman, Lord Minto. His Lordship had desired me by a note, to wait upon him at the Government-House, after church service, on a Sunday in August. It was an excessively hot day. I of course was sashed and belted, and buttoned up to the chin in scarlet. The purport of the visit was to look over some ancient maps and two or three modern MS. ones, and to consult some reference in Quintus Curtius. On my entrance his lordship stepped out from his cage, which was an enclosed space, made of gauze fastened to framework, standing in one of the rooms of the upper floor of the palace. "A very hot day, Sir," he observed: "here's a good hour's work for us." The maps, &c. were lying on the floor, and we had to go on our knees to inspect them; and this posture and the excessive heat did not *exactly* suit my military equipment. His lordship threw off his silk coat, and observed, "You had better do as I do." I respectfully replied, "It is very well in your lordship as governor-general, but it will not do in a Bombay ensign." His lordship laughed, and repeated my observation with great glee. To show that he was not offended, he afterwards did me a material service. His lordship's visit to Madras, and his wise, conciliatory, and prudent measures, probably saved India from a dreadful convulsion. (Vide p. 68).

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general acquaintance with Indian subjects. I have detained them, to look over the papers more at leisure.

The public letters are exceedingly flattering and handsome. Any thing you wish to lay before the Society I shall be very happy to introduce.

Yours, sincerely,

H. H. WILSON,

Secretary to the Asiatic Society.

July, 1812, Calcutta.

No. 6.

LORD HASTINGS presents his compliments to Capt. Seely, and has the honour to return the map, and the "Military Memoir of Guzerat," with its interesting explanations.

The spirit of inquiry and justness of remark which the latter exhibit do great credit to Capt. Seely, who is requested to accept Lord Hastings' thanks for having been favoured with the perusal*.

April 16, 1818.

No. 7.

AURUNGZEBE TO AZIM SHAH.

HEALTH to thee! my heart is near thee. Old age is arrived, weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I de-

* This note was written by Lord Hastings himself. On this nobleman's public career and great talents it were presumption in me to offer a comment. In India he was universally beloved by his countrymen and respected by the natives.

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part. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath only left sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian or protector of this Empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly: I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son, Kam Bakhsh, though gone to Beejapoor, is still near; and thou, my son, art nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shah Alum, is far distant; and my grandson, Azeem Coshan, is arrived near Hindoostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not. I brought nothing into the world, and, except the infirmities of men, carry nothing out. I have a *dread for my salvation*, and with *what torments* I may be punished. Though I have a *strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God*, yet regarding my actions fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensable. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Beder Bukht) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) *appears* afflicted, but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell—Farewell!

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ROUTE

FROM

BOMBAY TO KARLI AND ELORA.

No.	Places.	Distance. Miles.	Furl.	Remarks.
	PANWELL.....	23		On the continent—out-post of an officer and 80 men —a moderate-sized town, and very well supplied.
	Choke	14		Decent village—supplies not very easily obtained—good quarters in a pagoda.
	Capooly.....	14		Mean, dirty village—foot of the g'hāts — a very fine tank and temple here.
	Cundalla	5		Top of the g'hāts—village small—bazaar not badly furnished—a leaky, tottering hovel for quarters.
5	KARLI	9		A good village, and well supplied—quarters much better than the last stage.
	Tellegaum	12		Large village, with an excellent bazaar—good quarters near a tank.
	Panowly	10		Village, very insignificant—good quarters in bungalows, built for sporting parties.
	POONA	9		Large Mahratta city—British cantonments, extensive and convenient—supplies—coolies, cattle, &c. to be obtained.
	Corygaum	10	2	On the banks of the Bhema.
10	Shikrapour	11	6	Excellent quarters in the sporting lodges.
	Ranjengaum.....	10	4	Good quarters in a large pagoda.

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No.	Places.	Distance. Miles.	Furl.	Remarks.
	SEROOR	9	4	Frontier station of the subsidiary force — excellent quarters—supplies, coolies, &c. easily obtained.
	Dytua	5		Small villages.
	Carooss	6	2	
15	Ranjengaum	6		A wretched, dirty village.
	Ouchulanare	6		A fortified village.
	AHMED-NUGGUR ..	11		British out-post—good quarters—supplies cheap and abundant.
	Iliad.....	11		N.B. This road lies to the
	Nembedura.....	2	6	left, and is made to avoid the g'hāt, which is impassable for guns, or heavy articles.—By the g'hāt it is a saving of about five miles.
20	Wamborey.....	5	4	A small village—lodgings in a dirty hovel.
	Cautruss	2		Two villages, divided by a
	Soné.....	7	4	water-course—bad accommodation*—garrisoned by thirty Arabs—belongs to Scindia.
	Curkoondy	6		A ruined and desolate village —inhabitants armed with bows and arrows.
	Chincoora	4		Inhabited by thieves of every description, many of whom were sitting in the road.
25	Hewra.....	3	2	Large village—out-post of a Jemidar and thirty men—quarters in a stone mosque.
	TOKA	12		An out-post of an officer and 100 Siphauees—town but ill supplied. — Here the Jeendu falls into the Godavery river.
	Gandapour.....	6		A miserable, decayed town, with many ruins.—Road infested by Bheels.
	Shah-pour.....	10		Small, filthy village—a dirty pagoda for quarters.

* My tent often arriving late, and some days not at all, I took up my lodging with cows or buffaloes.

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No.	Places.	Distance. Miles.	Furl.	Remarks.
29	ELORA.....	18		Large village, mostly inhabited by Brahmans—belongs to Rao Holkar—lodgings in a pagoda of considerable beauty and size—Caves distant three-quarters of a mile in front.
	Total.....260		2	

If the Traveller purposes a Visit to Aurungabad, he had better, on leaving Toka, stretch away a little to the South:

No.	Places.	Distance. Miles.	Furl.	Remarks.
1	To Kurrary, or Toorkabad...	16		Very bad accommodation in supplies, and quarters in a cow-house.
2	Aurungabad.....	16		Large city—markets well furnished—shops with supplies in abundance—good Choultry, or halting-place for travellers.
3	Dowlutabad.....	5		A singular-looking hill fort, very strong both by nature and art.
	Total.....	37	0	

I have given both the measured Routes, that the traveller may proceed first to Aurungabad, or not, as he thinks proper.

Elora stands in lat. 19° 56′ north; longitude 76° 1′ east—Distance, by survey, from Hydrabad, 303 miles—form Madras, 655 miles—from Calcutta, 1030 miles—from Delhi, 758 miles—from Goa, 446 miles—from Agra, 641 miles—from Nagpore, 261 miles.

THE END.

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